FBIS DAILY REPORT

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Soviet Union

Vol III No 037 25 February 1987

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GENEVA TALKS ENVOYS VIEW U.S. ABM TREATY STAND

LD241825 Moscow TASS English 2123 GMT 24 Feb 87

[Text] Geneva February 24 TASS -- The Soviet Union proceeds from the premise that preserving the ABM Treaty is a matter of universal security, Yevgeniy Makeyev, permanent representative of the USSR to the U.N. Mission and other international organisations in Geneva, told a news conference here today.

In this connection, he referred to Mikhail Gorbachev's speech at the international forum in Moscow, who said that the Soviet leadership was ready to play a vanguard role in mankind's struggle to break the nuclear guillotine and build a nuclear-free and non-violent world.

Aleksey Obukhov, deputy head of the USSR delegation at the Soviet-U.S. negotiations on nuclear and space armaments, said that at the Reykjavik meeting the Soviet Union proposed pledging that the tests of all space elements of an anti-ballistic missile system in space be banned for a ten-year period during which neither side will withdraw from the ABM Treaty and the work in the field of a space-based anti-ballistic missile system be limited to laboratories.

But the United States is moving towards subverting the treaty, towards demolishing the regime of strict constraints imposed on anti-missile defence. To justify these actions, Washington came up with the thesis of a broader view of the treaty.

So, following its move to abandon adherence by the SALT-1 and SALT-2 treaties, Washington took in its sights the ABM Treaty with an eye to finalizing the dismantling of the foundation of the strategic arms limitation process and making the SDI programme irreversable, as well as tying the hands of future U.S. administrations.

This line of Washington simultaneously blocks a solution to the issue of drastic reductions in nuclear armaments.

Yuriy Nazarkin, head of the USSR delegation at the conference on disarmament, stressed that the problem of preventing the arms race in space concerned all states since near-earth space covered not only the territories of the USSR and the United States.

To take part in its solution is a lawful right and scared responsibility of all states. He expressed the conviction that the Geneva conference on disarmament had a good potential for a businesslike and purposeful discussion of this problem.

Obukhov Warns U.S. On SDI

AU241646 Paris AFP in English 1632 GMT 24 Feb 87

[Yvan Chemla report]

[Text] Geneva, Feb 24 (AFP) -- The Soviet Union accused Washington here Tuesday of trying to break the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty with its "Star Wars" program and warned that Moscow would respond "efficiently" if the United States launched an arms race in space.

Alexey Obukhov, deputy head of the Soviet delegation to the disarmament talks here, told a press conference Washington's stance "effectively blocked all solutions to the problem of reducing nuclear arms and revealed its desire to prevent the erosion of the nuclear threat."

U.S. efforts to establish a "broad" interpretation of the 1972 ABM Treaty to speed up tests in space of the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) were unacceptable, he said.

He said Washington was trying to justify by "invented legal arguments" a deployment of the space-based missile system that would give it "an irreversible character and tie the hands of the next U.S. Administration."

Mr. Obukhov warned that an arms accord would be impossible in the event of an arms race in space and affirmed that the Soviet Union would not let the United States gain military superiority by such a tactic.

He said the narrow Soviet interpretation of the ABM Treaty was the "correct" one. He recalled Moscow's proposals in Reykjavik that the two parties keep to the treaty for 10 years, with SDI research confined to the laboratory.

Mr. Obukhov reiterated Moscow's all-encompassing approach to the arms problem, linking the four areas of space, strategic weapons, medium-range missiles and nuclear tests.

"If these four areas are not considered simultaneously, there will be cause for suspicion, instability and imbalance. They have to be discussed in parallel," said Mr. Obukhov.

The American negotiators have criticized the Soviet approach for making any agreement on arms a "hostage" to the Star Wars issue.

Mr. Obukhov was flanked at the press conference by the Soviet ambassador to the United Nations, Yevgeniy Makeyev, and disarmament conference representative Yuriy Nazarkin.

ABM REVISION CONSTITUTES 'BREAK' IN MECHANISM

LD241916 Moscow TASS in English 1855 GMT 24 Feb 87

[Text] Washington February 24 TASS -- On an instruction from the master of the White House top-ranking emissaries of the U.S. Administration set out on a tour of West European and Asian countries. The purpose of the tour is to clarify the so-called broad view of the timeless Soviet-U.S. Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty (ABM) adopted by Washington.

In concluding the treaty in 1972, which took several years to prepare, the sides agreed not to develop and not to deploy anti-missile systems in their territories, with the exception of the regions strictly provided for by the treaty. Initially, two such areas were identified in each country and in 1974 the Soviet Union and the United States signed a protocol to the ABM Treaty in Moscow, under which each of the sides will have only one area, instead of two, for the deployment of ABM systems.

Not daring to jettison this document, the administration moved to a "broad interpretation" of the ABM Treaty which would give it leeway to realize the "Star Wars" programme and loft weapons into space.

Simultaneously, the President gave an instruction to the Pentagon to make a detailed list of experiments under the ABM programme, which he could bring to fit with a broader view of the ABM Treaty. The Pentagon has failed to make these lists for the present but the magazine "U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT" writes that there exist proposals for deploying tens of thousands of interceptor missiles on some two thousand combat stations placed in orbits.

Tests of such interceptor rockets, let alone their deployment in space, are a violation of the ABM Treaty even in its broad interpretation adopted by the Reagan administration, the magazine writes.

The unilateral revision by the White House of the afore-mentioned treaty constitutes an actual break of the entire treaty mechanism which is the effective means of containing the race in strategic nuclear armaments.

'BROADER INTERPRETATION' OF ABM TREATY STUDIED

LD241507 Moscow World Service in English 1410 GMT 24 Feb 87

[Yuriy Solton commentary]

[Text] The United States has temporarily suspended its talks with the Soviet Union in Geneva over space arms. More from our observer Yuriy Solton.

The American delegation, it is said, needs time for consultations with the U.S. allies over what is termed as a broader interpretation of the ABM Treaty signed between the Soviet Union and the United States 15 years ago. The treaty obliges the cosignatories not to build an antimissile defense system on the entire territory of the country but to limit it only to a territory with a radius of up to 150 km where no more than 100 antiballistic missiles can be deployed. Another major commitment under the treaty is not to develop tests or deploy ABM systems or sea, air, space, or mobile land-based ABM elements. It's these cornerstones of the treaty that the United States seeks to destroy on the pretext of the need to give the treaty a broader interpretation. It will thus remove obstacles standing in the way of the realization of the Strategic Defense Initiative, known as the Star Wars plan and bound to pave the way for pushing weapons into space.

These plans have caused such an outbreak of alram and protest in the United States proper and among American allies that President Reagan has ordered to hold necessary consultations with the Congress and the Western allies. One may get the impression that Washington has decided to analyze objectively various opinions. Facts, however, indicate different intentions. The attempt to find out what the public think of the issue is just a decoy, and the reality is the continuation of the work dealing with the development of strike space weapons and the policy aimed at breaking down the ABM Treaty.

It's no accident that the Pentagon has been instructed to draw up a schedule of tests for the Star Wars program. The agreement has already been reached in principle at the White House on speeding up the deployment in space of the first stage of the antiballistic defense system. The former American defense secretary, Schlesinger, has rightfully stated that actions by the administration actually block the opportunity for reaching any major agreement in the field of disarmament in Geneva. One can add to this that with the breakdown of the ABM Treaty the nuclear arms race is bound to acquire new dimensions. An arms race in space will be added to it which will enhance considerably the danger of an accidental outbreak of world war.

CHERNYSHEV URGES NONMILITARIZATION OF SPACE

LD142249 Moscow International Service in Czech 1800 GMT 13 Feb 87

[Text] Leading circles in the U.S. and certain other NATO countries are insistently spreading the idea that there is no connection between nuclear arms reduction and SDI -- in other words, the Star Wars program -- and that, therefore, the problem of reducing the nuclear confrontation must be tackled as a separate issue. We asked Colonel Vladimir Chernyshev, a TASS military observer; to comment on these ideas. What is his view? He stated:

In my view, such statements are intentionally made for the benefit of people who are unfamiliar with military strategic issues. For example, it is said that the space-based ABM system is purely defensive, designed solely to destroy enemy nuclear missiles. This is a willful lie, however, because there are close interconnections between strategic offensive and defensive weapons. Indeed, the development of even a solely defensive system cannot be seen by the other side as anything but an attempt to both achieve decisive military superiority and to gain the ability to carry out an unpunished first strike, avoiding retaliating by hiding behind a space shield.

One of the Star Wars program's directors, Gardner, explained at a closed conference in Washington that implementing SDI would sharply alter the nuclear balance in favor of the United States. Possession of the ABM system, he stated, would even enable the United States to retain the upper hand in strategic nuclear weapons after a bilateral nuclear exchange. Even advocates of Star Wars realize, however, that it is impossible to create a 100 percent reliable defensive system: Thus, to increase the effectiveness of the ABM system, Star Wars advocates have an interest in reducing the nuclear potential of what they call their potential adversary.

Paul Warnke, former head of the U.S. delegation to the disarmament talks, recently made the following statement: If Soviet nuclear capabilities were reduced, SDI would become more valuable to the United States by providing a nuclear advantage that could be used to blackmail the Soviet Union. There is an important conclusion to be drawn from this: In circumstances in which there is a threat of SDI being developed, it would hardly be possible to imagine any kind of cut or limitation in offensive strategic weapons, because agreeing to such a thing would mean enhancing the effectiveness of a nuclear first-strike capability carried out by means of the antimissile shield -- in other words, actively helping someone who has decided to outflank you by using space weapons. Radical cuts in strategic weapons under the conditions of space militarization can disproportionately enhance the threat posed by SDI, because systems developed under this program will then have to contend with a much smaller number of missiles, delivery vehicles, and warheads that is currently the case. In such conditions, SDI, as I see it, fits in particularly well with the concept of a nuclear first strike.

Let us examine another argument of SDI advocates: Let both sides deploy their ABM systems; then the emphasis on nuclear weapons can be reduced at the expense of defensive systems. Is this correct? Such an interpretation, in my opinion, is totally unrealistic, because each side will then question whose ABM system is more effective or more impenetrable? Could not one side take advantage of the fact that it has a more effective defense to carry out a nuclear first strike? The consequence of this is uncertainty, instability, the unpredictable development of events, and the impossibility of secure strategic planning.

Under such conditions, nuclear war could be the consequence not only of a deliberate decision, but also of attempts at blackmail or of an incorrect evaluation by one side of the plans or actions of the other side. The situation would become even more unpredictable since as both sides would strive both to improve their ABM systems and to develop means of defeating them; this, incidentally, is currently underway at full speed in the United States. This means that reducing offensive nuclear weapons under this option, without a ban on the militarization of space, would in effect be helping the other side to enhance the effectiveness of its sword and shield systeem.

Finally, let us examine yet another option advocated by Washington. Let us suppose that both sides have space-based ABM systems and that nuclear weapons have been completely destroyed. Would strategic stability be enhanced in this case? Would the threat of war diminish? I firmly believe not, because SDI -- meaning a program for developing offensive space weapons -- is inherently an offensive system. These space weapons, which have an effective range of some 4,000-5,000 ikometers, can destroy targets in space, on earth, and at sea almost instantaneously. SDI could become one of the most lethal offensive weapons systems ever devised by mankind. Even if the currently existing nuclear weapons were totally eliminated, SDI would itself become a cause of strategic instability and mutual distrust. The anxiety of not allowing oneself to be outflanked would give rise to an unbridled arms race in space. Instead of nuclear weapons, ever more horrendous weapons of destruction would be developed.

In light of everything that has been stated; there can only be one conclusion, the U.S. SDI, or Star Wars program, is an obstacle to reducting and limiting nuclear weapons; it leads to even greater instability of the military strategic situation, and to increasing the threat of war. As yet there have been no weapons in space, but if weapons are indeed placed there, it will be extremely difficult to get them removed, and there is absolutely no reason to expect the development of offensive space weapons to lead to the disappearance of nuclear weapons on earth.

There is, however, another path, a more reliable and safer path, one which, above all, leads directly to a goal: the path of reducing and subsequently eliminating existing missiles, all nuclear weapons, and other mass-destruction weapons. The Soviet Union proposed 1 year ago that this should be accomplished by the end of this century, but this plan can only be effected if the door to all weapons in space remains tightly shut.

KASHLEV SUBMITS EAST BLOC PROPOSALS AT CSCE

PM231651 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Feb 87 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "At the Vienna Meeting"]

[Text] Vienna, 21 Feb -- The Vienna meeting of representatives from CSCE states is discussing proposals submitted by the delegations.

Yu.B. Kashlev, head of the Soviet delegation, submitted to the meeting's plenary session a number of new proposals coauthored by the group of socialist countries. They revolve around the affirmation of new thinking on security questions and the development of military detente in Europe. A number of proposals concern human rights and humanitarian cooperation, the right to work and housing, and the expansion of contacts among people.

KORNILOV NOTES WESTERN VIEW OF NEW SOVIET CHANGES

PM241031 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 20 Feb 87 First Edition p 5

[Yu. Kornilov article: "Confusion and Malice Reign in the Camp of Sovietologists Assessing the Restructuring"]

[Text] Whichever Western newspaper or magazine you read these days, headlines and banner headlines are prominently placed everywhere: "Major Changes in the USSR," "Moscow's Slogan: Restructuring," "The Soviet Union: New Stage of Development." The tremendous foreign public and press interest in the changes and transformation taking place in the USSR is natural.

Of course, foreign comments vary: They depend on the opinion a particular Western mass news organ reflects. But, to single out the chief point, there is reason to say that this process of revolutionary change is warmly welcomed by socialism's friends and has been given a cordial reception by all who want to see the Soviet Union as a confident and responsible partner in international affairs. There are many such responses and assessments, but they are just a part of the overall picture. Today numerous "Sovietologists" are being mobilized with unprecedented vigor by their masters to discredit our program of transformations at all costs.

In his recent "State of the Union" message and in the report "On U.S. Strategy in the National Security Sphere," published in Washington, R. Reagan assailed the socialist system of economic management and socialism, claiming that "only societies based on competition and the principle of free enterprise constantly prevail over a centrally planned economy." It is significant that public praise for the imaginary "advantages" of the free enterprise system comes from the President of a country whose state debt has already reached the astronomical sum of more than $2,000,000,000,000, where many sectors of industry, as the U.S. media itself admits, are experiencing a profound slump, and where the army of people unemployed exceeds 9 million.

The "fundamental" postulates advanced by the U.S. President serve as a kind of tuning fork which sets the tone for many Western propaganda organs -- U.S. ones above all -- when they discuss the changes in the USSR. Their attention is focused not so much on the essence of these changes occurring in the USSR or on the prospects which these changes open up, as on attempts to turn facts inside out by claiming that the shortcomings and stagnant phenomena exposed by the party attest to the "unviability" of the socialist system. It is precisely in this vein that they speak of "the Soviet economy on the skids" (THE NEW YORK TIMES), of "failures in Soviet agriculture" (THE WASHINGTON POST), of "bureaucratic planning..." We will not go into the essence of those descriptions, although it is obvious that many of them are overtly tendentious. But here is what is noteworthy. While painting a picture of "failures" and "deficiencies" in the Soviet economy, the authors of these opuses stubbornly ignore the fact that our shortcomings have certainly not grown out of the "system" but, as the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum emphasized, are a consequence of the fact that at a certain, very specific stage very specific people who made up the country's leadership were unable for subjective reasons to fully and in good time assess the need for changes and the danger of increasing crisis phenomena.

And here is another clearly visible method that socialism's enemies use to "tune" into our restructuring. Yes, Western "specialists on Soviet Russia" admit, the changes occurring in the USSR are of a fundamental nature . [paragraph continues]

Yes, implementation of the program elaborated by the CPSU will signify the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development. But, having acknowledged these incontestable facts, they at once execute a sharp zigzag and, turning to their favorite postulate of "the advantages of capitalism," painstakingly try to find in the transformations taking place in the USSR "a rejection of socialist dogmas" and "concessions to the free enterprise system." A fruitless search, vain hopes! "The aim of the Moscow reforms is more socialism," the FRG newspaper UNSERE ZEIT points out, and so it in fact is.

Certain Western "Soviet specialists" also use this ploy: Leaving the reader, listener, or television viewer totally ignorant about the essence and aims of our restructuring, they paint a vivid picture of opposition to these innovations on the part of conservative elements. They use terms such as "strong opposition" (THE NEW YORK TIMES), "the old guard resisting change" (USA TODAY), "conservatives who will not give in without a fight" (THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR), and so forth. What can one say about this? Yes, there is resistance to restructuring, and the Soviet press writes openly about it. But to regard such facts as of paramount importance while ignoring the chief point -- the determination of the party and of the absolute majority of the people to end the period of stagnation -- is to deliberately distort reality.

Some Western newspapers complain that they find it increasingly difficult to restore the "picture" of an immobile, backward Soviet Union deprived of democracy and coveting the rich West as for many years portrayed in the pages of certain bourgeois publications. Others grieve that "the Soviet reforms contain no hint of the introduction of a Western-style multiparty system in the country" (NEWSDAY).

On comparing and contrasting the very important documents coming out of Moscow and Washington, it is easy to see for yourself how differently the two states' leaders approach problems facing them. On the one hand, there is concentration on the future, boldness in raising new questions, sincerity, and breadth of views. M.S. Gorbachev's speech at his meeting with participants in the international forum "For a Nuclear-Free World, For Mankind's Survival" is an example of this.

On the other hand, there are the hackneyed cliches of the mythical "Soviet threat," calls for a gamble based on force, and U.S. attempts to impose its own socioeconomic and political schemes which -- we do not know on what basis -- are passed off as a "universal model." This difference was noticed by the mass media which, comparing M.S. Gorbachev's report at the CPSU Central Committee Janaury Plenum and his speech to the participants in the Moscow forum with Reagan's "State of the Union" message, point out that while the Soviet leader's speeches abound with new ideas, the President's message essentially boils down to attempts to wriggle out of the Irangate scandal with the help of "patriotic" verbiage.

Soviet people associate their vital interests, the fate of their nation, and its international prestige and weight with the restructuring. The process of acceleration and democratization will continue to develop irreversible, strongly, and constantly in all spheres of Soviet society -- political, socioeconomic, and spiritual. The greater the depth and scale of the changes, the more obvious it is that the fundamental values of Soviet domestic and, consequently, foreign policy entirely and fully coincide with general human values, the chief of which is peace. Without wars, without weapons!

BOVIN SEES REAGAN DEEPENING 'COLD WAR TRENCHES'

PM241945 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Feb 87 Morning Edition p 3

[A. Bovin article: "In the 'Cold War' Trenches" under the rubric "Political Observer's Opinion"]

[Text] "Irangate" has placed the U.S. President, his friends and kindred spirits, and the entire Republican Party in a difficult position. R. Reagan's authority has clearly been damaged. His influence is on the wane. Washington officialdom has announced a sort of unofficial competition for ideas and suggestions. What can maintain the President's reputation? How might it be possible to compensate or what might compensate for the damage caused to the White House by the Iran-Nicaragua Adventure? Where is the trump card the Republicans could take with them into the next presidential elections?

The following option is among those being considered. The U.S. President will aim for major agreements on nuclear arms reduction, even if this means taking two or three extra steps to meet the "Russians." This would considerably strengthen his political positions and secure the White House for the Republicans for a minimum of another 4 years.

H. Kissinger is offering firm predictions for the immediate future. He believes that M.S. Gorbachev will go to Washington this year and agree to a "zero option" for Europe and that in 1988 R. Reagan will sign an agreement in Moscow on a 50 percent reduction in strategic forces. Kissinger himself is actually opposed to accords like these. He feels they are of greater benefit to the Soviet Union than the United States but is nevertheless predicting a "conciliatory stance" by R. Reagan.

It would be good if both visits really took place and both treaties were signed. this kind of payment for "Irangate" would suit everyone in Moscow, but matters are more complicated in Washington. And, I fear, the former U.S. secretary of state is being rather hasty in reproaching the President for inclining toward conciliation.

The fact that Reagan is still Reagan is evidenced, in my opinion, by the President's report on U.S. strategy in te national security sphere. I do not dispute that the report contains attempts -- admittedly not always consistent -- to break through layers of primitive anticommunism and move toward political reality. "Three fundamental principles" of U.S. policy regarding the Soviets are developed, for example. They are:

"Realism, which means that we must recognize the nature of the Soviet system and frankly and directly resolve the problems or our relations.

"Strength, which means not only military might but also political determination, the strength of alliances, and a healthy economy. The Soviet Union respects strength and uses weakness in its own intersts.

"Dialogue, which means that we are prepared to discuss every problem that divides us and are willing to try to reach feasible, fair solutions on a basis compatible with our vital interests."

The United States has worked out a policy, the report claims, "oriented toward a long-term settlement of U.S.-Soviet relations...." And although the "most important fact" is that U.S.-Soviet relations ar essentially relations of rivalry and will remain as such for the foreseeable future," both sides agree that "these relations should remain peaceful."

Without finding fault with these words and emphases, we can say: All right then, the principles and the policy have been worked out, let's proceed to the long-term settlement of Soviet-U.S. relations and begin fleshing them out with constructive, peaceful content.

This has not been the case however. Washington is, of course, in favor of "peaceful relations" with Moscow. It interprets these relations exlusively from an American viewpoint, exclusively from the standpoint of U.S. interests. The very image of "rival" is drawn in the same American way -- a combination of ignorance and fear. "Guided by the demands of a political system held together and dominated by Marxist-Leninist ideology and the political party which represents it, Moscow aspires to change the present international system and establish Soviet hegemony in the world. These long-term Soviet aims form the general ideoloical frmaework of Soviet foreign and defense policy."

The nature of the "long-term settlement" also corresponds to the "enemy" image.

Instead of strategic arms reduction, the emphasis is placed on continuing the strategic arms race -- but chiefly in those areas which the U.S. considers advantageous to itself. A thesis is being formulated concerning "strategic competitions" which set the aim of using U.S. "technical superiority" "on a considered, systematic basis" to make the Soviets "compete less effectively or less efficiently with us in the military application of technology." The "invisible" Stealth bomber, for example, could, according to the Pentagon, diminish the value of much of the Soviet ABM system, and so on.

The plan to shape "peaceful relations" with the Soviet Union includes underminig our country's ties with its socialist allies, attacking our friends in the "Third World," and weakening the USSR's influence in various regions of the world.

The same plan includes attempts to restrict and narrow the USSR's foreign economic ties. In particular, Washington is opposed to the USSR's joining international trade and finance organizations. "The governments of noncommunist countries," the President urges, "must show greater discipline when considering security issues in commercial relations between East and West."

"Ideological warfare" is designated one of the most serious tasks in the national security sphere. Who is the target? However strange it may seem, the U.S. itself is the prime target. It transpires that Americans are not particularly in support of the foreign policy course being followed by the White House, so, with the aid of ideological warfare, it is proposed to create a "natural base" of support for U.S. foreign policy within the United States itself.

A more traditional ideological adversary is the East Bloc. In this respect it is proposed to "penetrate closed societies" and inform "peoples without rights" of the advantages of "free institutions."

On the whole, economic restrictions, ideological warfare, political pressure, and continuation of the arms race is how Washington conceives of the "peaceful" development of Soviet-U.S. relations. Hopes of reorienting the President appear strange against this conceptual background, even as a result of the "Irangate" affair.

History and politics do not rule out but, on the contrary, presuppose all manner of surprises, sudden changes, and zigzags that are hard to predict. Nevertheless, the scope for anything "sudden" is quite limited, so Reagan will most probably remain as he is now. [paragraph continues]

In the opinion of the "Heritage Foundation," one of the United States' conservative think tanks, the President "has time to consolidate the path he intends U.S. foreign policy to follow...." This path is obvious. The U.S. Administration continues to deepen the "cold war" trenches.

U.S. TREATMENT OF WEST EUROPEAN ALLIES DEPLORED

PM191601 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Feb 87 First Edition p 3

[Military Observer V. Chernyshev "TASS Commentary for KRASNAYA ZVEZDA": "Lessons for Washington's 'Kid Brothers'"]

[Text] Washington has again, and for the umpteenth time during the Reagan administration's rule, crudely rebuffed its allies. In response to the expression of deep disquiet voiced by West Europeans at the United States' undermining of the ABM Treaty and possible moves by it to deploy SDI, K. Adelman, director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, has stated that U.S. allies should not give Washington advice on how the ABM Treaty is "to be construed." I think, Adelman said, they are insufficiently qualified for that.

Such representatives of the present U.S. Administration are convinced the allies are only "qualified" enough to applaud the U.S. leadership's every move and accept in their countries as many weapons and types of weapons as the United States deems necessary. Washington has for a long time now merely informed the allies about decisions it has taken unilaterally, presenting them with faits accomplis and in no way consulting them. It treats its "kid brothers" with imperial disdain, places U.S. interests above its partners' national interests, and foists its home-grown concepts of political conduct on them.

The Reagan administration bluntly formulated its attitude to the allies as early as 1981. When, at a session of the National Security Council Planning Group, reference was made to the extremely unfavorable reaction of the peoples and countries of West Europe to the U.S. decision to produce neutron weapons, Caspar Weinberger, followed by the President himself, voiced their utter contempt for their opinion. "The United States cannot allow," the Pentagon chief stated, "European political problems to play a dominant role when making decisions affecting the American Armed Forces' military potential." Reagan, for his part, stressed "the Europeans must not be given the right of veto regarding military decisions made by the United States: and he "will no longer allow U.S. decisions to depend on allies's support." That is precisely how Washington has acted and continues to act.

Let us remember how Reagan decided to abandon the SALT II treaty without any consultation with the allies on this fundamental question of joint policy. The allies were forced with impotent indignation to "take note" of the decision. Bypassing many allies, Washington secured through the NATO structure the decision to produce binary chemical weapons, giving the West Europeans yet another lesson in "equal partnership" within the North Atlantic bloc.

Let us remember how U.S. Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Perle dressed down British Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs Geoffrey Howe for what he had to say on the dangerous consequences of the "Star Wars" program! Again, it was Perle who, speaking quite recently in Munich, attacked and threatened the allies and described the elimination of nuclear weapons and talks to completely eliminate chemical weapons as "nonsense." Richard Burt, U.S. ambassador to the FRG, threatened the allies that U.S. troops would be pulled out of West Europe if the allies refused to create more favorable conditions for the sale of U.S. products on their market. [paragraph continues]

He bluntly demanded the West Europeans considerably cut Common Market expenditure on agricultural needs and channel the funds released into speeding up military programs.

NEWSWEEK once acknowledged the relative influence of the United States and its allies inside the North Atlantic alliance has become quite incommensurate. The dictatorial manners of the transatlantic partner, whose policy has become increasingly aggressive and unpredictable under the Reagan administration, is causing indignation in West European NATO countries. E. Bahr, prominent figure in the SPD, said in an article published in the weekly magazine VORWAERTS last June that Washington's unilateral actions are "poisoning the alliance."

And now we have Washington "warning" the West Europeans that the fate of a treaty fundamental to international stability will be decided by it alone, disregarding the allies' security interests. When the decision has been taken, it will be "explained" to them in due course. Perhaps the "insufficiently qualified" allies will be able to understand what guides the U.S. Administration in its action. I think they are perfectly well aware in West Europe of the kind of very dangerous adventure in which Washington could embroil the NATO countries. That is precisely why the West European capitals are so disquieted by all the "new interpretations" of the ABM Treaty now being discussed in the U.S. capital.

NEW BOOKLET DETAILS U.S. NUCLEAR THREAT TO PEACE

LD231107 Moscow TASS in English 1011 GMT 23 Feb 87

[Text] Moscow February 23 TASS -- Way back in 1945, the Pentagon contemplated the atomic bombing of 20 Soviet cities. In 1948 it planned to drop 200 atomic bombs on 70 Soviet cities and in 1950, 350 atomic bombs on 120 cities, says a booklet, "Whence the Threat to Peace," brought out here by the military publishing house in cooperation with the PROGRESS and NOVOSTI publishers.

"The U.S. military doctrine has been based on pre-emptive strike and a constant readiness for first use of nuclear weapons virtually since their inception," the booklet points out.

The underlying political idea of the doctrine "is U.S. world hegemony, an ambition to dictate the Americans' will in any region, to any state, employing all available means for this purpose, including weapons of mass destruction."

Ever since acquiring nuclear weapons, the booklet says, the United States has never abandoned its intention to use them first. "A nuclear first strike was the backbone of all postwar American military doctrines -- take 'massive retaliation,' 'flexible response,' or 'realistic deterrence.'"

The views of American hawks under the Reagan administration have been expressed in the doctrine of "neoglobalism" which provides for a vast package of political, economic, ideological and military measures to "roll back communism," and for the direct use of armed force against those countries where the U.S. sees a threat to its "vital interests."

PRC OFFICIAL SIGNS SPORTS COOPERATION PROTOCOL

LD2322231 Moscow TASS in English 2146 GMT 23 Feb 87

[Text] Moscow February 23 TASS -- The USSR State Committee for Sports and the Chinese Committee for Physical Culture and Sports signed a cooperation protocol today.

The protocol provides for exchanges of delegations in 17 sports this year.

The signing ceremony crowned a week-long visit to this country of a delegation of China's leading sports officials led by He Zhenliang, deputy chairman of the Sports Committee.

He Zhenliang said that the protocol was one more step forward in bilateral sports contacts and a sign of the two countries' desire to strengthen relations in the field of physical culture.

"I am glad to say that Soviet-Chinese ties, restored after nearly 20 years, now tend to develop dynamically and are diverse in nature", he said.

"The first official protocol on bilateral sports exchanges signed last year in Beijing was successfully implemented. The Soviet Union and China exchanged 40 delegations over the last three years. That enabled 550 athletes and coaches to take part in joint events and reflected the high level of cooperation".

The new protocol provides for joint competitions and training sessions in diving, gymnastics and rhythmic gymnastics, athletics, table tennis and other sports.

"We are also interested to have team exchanges in figure skating, ice-hockey, soccer and fencing, to receive Soviet training experts, as well as specialists in designing and maintaining sports facilities", He Zhenliang said.

He thanked the Soviet side for the warm welcome and pointed out the great usefulness of such contacts as they made for growth in sportsmanship of the two countries' athletes, promoted physical culture, friendship and mutual understanding between the Soviet and Chinese peoples.

On the 1988 Seoul Olympic games, He Zhenliang said that he hoped for a successful outcome of the fourth round of talks between the national olympic committees of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and South Korea and for a positive solution of the question of holding the games in both parts of Korea.

He noted that Chinese athletes were actively preparing for the 1988 games.

From the Soviet side the protocol was signed by Vyacheslav Gavrilin, deputy chairman of the State Committee for Sports.

Li Zewang, China's ambassador to the USSR, was present at the signing ceremony.

PRC TO RECEIVE 'LARGE NUMBER' OF LOCOMOTIVES

OW201233 Moscow in Mandarin to China 1600 GMT 18 Feb 87

[Text] The (Gyncherkash) Electric Locomotives Plant will soon complete the construction of new electric locomotives for China. With a maximum power of 6,400 kw, the locomotives, which are small in size, are suitable for Chinese railway tracks. A sample of the locomotives will be put in trial operation in China's railway experiment ground to determine its loading capacity and other possibilities. Between 1987 and 1990, the Soviet Union will provide China with a large number of such locomotives.

CEREMONIES IN PRC MARK USSR ARMY ANNIVERSARY

LD232059 Moscow TASS in English 1745 GMT 23 Feb 87

[Text] Beijing February 23 TASS -- Wreaths have been laid at the monuments of Soviet soldiers killed in China in the cities and districts of the provinces of Heilongjiang, Liaoning, Jiling, Hebei, Hubei and Sichuan, as well as the Nei Monggol Autonomous District.

The ceremonies held on the occasion of the 69th anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy were attended by representatives of local bodies of power and the Chinese-Soviet Friendship Society, the New China News Agency (XINHUA) reports.

VOA HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT 'WANTON INTERFERENCE'

OW240213 Moscow in Mandarin to China 1600 GMT 23 Feb 87

[Shakov commentary]

[Text] Last Sunday, VOA broadcast in its Mandarin program a so-called report on the study of human rights in China and Taiwan, which concludes that totalitarianism reigns over both China and Taiwan. According to VOA, the outcome of the study coincides with the official view of the United States. It is difficult to categorize the report, whether it is arrogant or rude, because it is wrong to judge the PRC on par with the bandits on the Chinese island.

The report, which constitutes a wanton interference in Chinese domestic affairs, is another manifestation of the U.S. Two China policy. Although the United States has repeatedly professed that Taiwan is a part of China, its deeds have contradicted the fact.

It is obvious to all who the backstage bosses of VOA are who flagrantly vilify the socialist construction carried out under the people's regime in China. In fact, they are a bunch of shameless people who call the Chinese people's regime totalitarian.

Already in its 45th year of operation, VOA was founded by the U.S. spy headquarters. (Ritz), one of the founders, openly said at that time that the new radio station is aimed at sabotaging the system of any country opposed to the United States. Over the past 45 years, VOA has carried out this task for the U.S. ruling clique. It has paid particular attention to propaganda aimed at sabotaging the system in China and other Asian socialist countries, and its broadcast time has nearly doubled over the last decade.

Speaking at a VOA anniversary reception, U.S. Vice President Bush, who was a former CIA director, lauded VOA as a torch of liberty. To us, however, the torch is in the hands of an arsonist.

WASHINGTON 'CRUSADE' TO UNDERMINE SOCIALISM

OW250559 Moscow in Mandarin to China 0700 GMT 24 Feb 87

[Loshev commentary on Communist Party Manifesto]

[Excerpts] Listeners, if you take a look at the calender, you will see that it has been 139 years since the Manifesto of the Communist Party by Marx and Engels was published at the end of February 1848. The calender reminds us of this immortal document. At its end, it issues a great call for the working class to unite: Workers of the world, unite! Chinese listeners, the following is a commentary by our station observer Loshev on this occasion: [Passage omitted]

We must see that the international bourgeoisie is waging a struggle against all socialist countries and forces in the international arena and throughout the world. This is not a secret. For a number of years, the international bourgeoisie has adopted a so-called crusade against socialism. The purpose of this policy, proclaimed by U.S. President Reagan, is to leave socialsim on the ash heap of history. [passage omitted]

It is very clear that the imperialist crusade against socialism also is aimed at China. Is there any proof? Please use your own judgment. Washington is not hiding its attempt to undermine China's socialist foundation.

VOA's Mandarin program is striving to slander socialism and shake people's trust in socialism. The United States is continuing its active support for the reactionary Kuomintang authorities in Taiwan, despite the fact that such a support is a wanton interference in China's internal affairs. There is another fact. The U.S. military presence in East Asia and Southeast Asia is also a direct threat to China.

Therefore, proletarian internationalism and one of its manifestations today -- the solidarity among socialist countries, or socialist internationalism -- conform to the interests of all socialist countries and the goals of all communists. [passage omitted]

SHEVARDNADZE'S FOREIGN VISIT PLANS FOR MARCH

Australia, Indonesia

LD221106 Moscow TASS in English 1020 GMT 22 Feb 87

[Text] Moscow February 22 TASS -- Understandings have been reached, under which Eduard Shevardnadze, a member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and foreign minister of the USSR, will pay officials visits to Australia and Indonesia early next month.

SRV, [illegible], PRK

LD241012 Moscow TASS in English 0914 GMT 24 Feb 87

[Text] Moscow February 24 TASS -- According to an understanding reached, Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR foreign minister, will make official friendly visits to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea in the first half of this March.

VIETNAM FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY VIEWS TASKS

OW241225 Moscow International Service in Vietnamese 1300 GMT 23 Feb 87

[Excerpts] The Central Committee of the Soviet-Vietnam Friendship Society [SVFS] held a meeting in Moscow to review its activities in 1986 and work out a program of action for 1987. [passage omitted]

At the meeting, Comrade (Markov), deputy chairman of the SVFS Central Committee and socialist labor hero, reviewed the SVFS's most important tasks in the past year.

[Begin (Markov) recording in Russian fading into Vietnamese translation] My comrades, workers of the Krasnoy Proletari Plant -- a basic organization of the SVFS -- and I actively participated in the Soviet-Vietnam friendship week activities in the past year. Moscow, Leningrad, and other cities in the Soviet Union held solemn meetings marking the 41st anniversary of the Declaration of Independence of Vietnam. Workers of plants and enterprises which supply Vietnam with their products on a permanent basis celebrated Soviet-Vietnam friendship week by intensifying labor efforts. Many Soviet cities organized Vietnamese film shows, book exhibitions, and get-togethers with Vietnamese youths and apprentices. The documents of the 27th CPSU Congress and the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam held last year, were topics of discussion at various meetings of basic installations. The Soviet working people manifested their support of the resolutions of the two congresses by intensifying their labor efforts during the first year of the 5-year plan, by closely cooperating with the fraternal Vietnam-Soviet Friendship Association [VSFA], and by giving overall aid to the VSFA. All this constitutes an important part of the guidelines of the SVFS. In fact, in 1986 the Soviet Union organized more than 30 exhibitions and sent nearly 1,000 films, more than 7,000 books, and a large quantity of magazines to Vietnam. The Soviet days organized in Vietnam with the participation of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic were bright illustrations of Soviet-Vietnamese cooperation. [end recording]

The meeting also worked out a program of action for the Society in 1987. This program lays emphasis on the continuation of activities aimed at introducing the Vietnamese people's life and work to the Soviet people and on the overall support for the VSFA [words indistinct] in the annals of Soviet-Vietnamese friendship and cooperation.

Comrade (Tuchuyev), deputy chairman of the Central Committee of the SVFS and director of the All-union Library, stressed:

[Begin (Tuchuyev) recording in Russian fading into Vietnamese translation] The new program of action is not only a repeat of last year's program, but, first of all, a manifestation of the direct relations between various organizations of the Soviet Union and the basic organizations of our society and between the sister enterprises in Belorussia and Binh Tri Thien Province, in Ukraine and Hau Giang province, in Moscow and Hanoi, and in Leningrad and Ho Chi Minh City. This guideline for the SVFS's activities is one of the most important guidelines.

This year, our two countries will organize 10 friendship days on the occasin of the 42th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence of Vietnam and a friendship month on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Vietnam will organize Soviet days on the occasion of the October Revolution anniversary. In 1987, the working people will carry out the great and complicated tasks set forth by the Soviet and Vietnamese party congresses. Many of these tasks must be accomplished by coordinating labor efforts at important construction sites of the national economy and at the Soviet enterprises where Vietnamese youths are serving apprenticeship. This year's program of action calls for positive activities for the basic creation of SVFS organizations in similar enterprises. In common labor, friendship between our two countries is being strengthened and developed. Proletarian internationalism is being manifested brilliantly. [end recording]

The SVFS's meeting closed with the admission of new members, including the Irozov engine plant where more than 300 Vietnamese youths are serving their apprenticeship and the Molino textile enterprise where Vietnamese apprentices are also studying.

CPSU'S NIKONOV RECEIVES VIETNAMESE CP VISITORS

PM231443 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Feb 87 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Developing Cooperation"]

[Text] In line with the schedule for party ties between the CPSU and the Communist Party of Vietnam [CPV] a delegation of CPV party workers headed by Le Phuoc Tho, secretary of the CPV Central Committee and chief of the CPV Central Committee Agriculture Section, was in the Soviet Union from 12 through 18 February to familiarize itself with the experience of party leadership of the USSR agro-industrial complex. The Vietnamese comrades had meetings and conversations at the CPSU Central Committee Agriculture and Food Industry Section, the Leningrad party Obkom, and the USSR State Agro-industrial Committee and visited a number of production enterprises and scientific research institutes.

The delegation was received by CPSU Central Committee Secretary V.P. Nikonov. There was a warm, friendly conversation during which questions pertaining to the further development of Soviet-vietnamese cooperation in the agricultural area were touched on.

PHILIPPINES ENTERING 'NEW IMPORTANT STAGE'

LD242015 Moscow TASS in English 1903 GMT 24 Feb 87

[Text] Moscow February 24 TASS -- TASS news analyst Vasiliy Kharkov writes:

The first anniversary of Corazon Aquino's presidency is observed in the Philippines. Stormy waves of popular discontent swept away in February last, the regime that had been ruling the country for two decades. The Filipino people regard February 25, 1986 as the day when the changes started which are called upon to restore stability in the country, promote the consolidation of national independence and social progress.

The new administration's first year in office was not easy. The Aquino administration had to overcome the fierce resistance of those who were closely associated with the former president's regime and who tried to provoke military mutinies, to stage anti-government plots. The Aquino government had a grim legacy. It inherited huge extenal indebtedness, acute economic and some other domestic problems which will require considerable efforts to resolve.

A referendum on the draft new constitution was held recently in the Philippines. 90 per cent of the 25-millioned poll [as received] took part in the referendum. Most people voted for the country's fundamental law. The outcome of the voting has been assessed as the vote of confidence in the new government.

Washington follows with much anxiety the processes developing in the Philippines. The White House is annoyed at the Philippine's striving for a non-nuclear status. The Pentagon has Clark Field and Subic Bay bases in the Philippines, the biggest in the network of numerous U.S. military facilities abroad. Washington more than once made it plain that the granting of new U.S. loans to the Philippines will depend on Manila's guarantees of the United States continued military presence.

The positions of transnational corporations in the Philippines are strong, and Washington's pressure is brought also along the commercial and economic lines, by means of the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, which press for a greater freedom of manoeuvre for U.S. monopolies, for the infringement of democratic rights of the working people.

The past year saw the increased social force of broad masses in the Philippines. Their attitudes and interests can be disregarded no longer. The Philippines is on the threshold of a new important stage -- the coming parliamentary elections and elections to local government bodies. Their outcome must strengthen the constitutional mainstays of new power.

MEDVEDEV BRIEFS BLOC JOURNALISTS ON PLENUM

AU241450 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Feb 87 p 7

[Lubor Kazda Moscow dispatch: "Action Program for Society's Development; V. Medvedev on the January Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] Moscow (from our correspondent) -- In a talk with journalists from socialist countries accredited in Moscow, Vadim Medvedev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, discussed on 18 February the significance of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the response to it abroad, and current tasks of the land of the soviets in the light of its conclusions.

First Comrade Medvedev briefly mentioned the recent Moscow peace forum, which he described as an embodiment of the conscience and responsibility of mankind for the further fate of civilization. He stressed the deep internal connection of the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum and the process of restructuring Soviet society with the ideas that resounded at the forum reflecting the CPSU's new approach to the solution of problems of internal and international life. This also provides an explanation for the unusually broad international response both to the Moscow forum itself and to Mikhail Gorbachev's address to its participants.

Nor has the response abroad to the January plenum grown any weaker, Vadim Medvedev said. Regardless of differences in the perception and interpretation of its meaning, it is ackowledged that this session was a landmark and that it is of exceptional importance not only for the USSR, but for international developments in general. The session has met with a lively response in the socialist countries: The speeches and documents of the session were published in full in most fraternal countries; and a great deal is being written about identical solutions to some problems and about the great importance of the experience of the CPSU. We are grateful for this attention paid to the January session and for the support that we need and greatly appreciate. We perceive it as another expression of our fraternal relations, the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee said. He briefed the journalists on the process of preparations for the session, which proceeded from the realization that cadre work plays a key role in putting into effect the strategy of the 27th CPSU Congress. That is why the January plenum took so long to prepare and why the preparations had to be unusually detailed and thorough. The course of preparations showed that tasks in cadre work are closely bound with all aspects of bringing about restructuring. The preparations deepened and promoted the understanding of the very contents of restructuring, which produced the need to work out an integrated program of action for the development of all walks of society's life. At the same time, it was necessary that a high and authoritative party rostrum reply to those who assume that restructuring does not concern everyone.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo several times concerned itself with the preparation of the session, Comrade Medvedev said, with its deliberations taking place in an atmosphere of absolute unanimity and creative search. The Politburo decided to hold the Central Committee plenum only after it had been completely prepared. The postponement of the session elicited in the West a wave of misinterpretations, wishes were being presented as reality, there was talk of alleged "differences," of "reluctance to assert the new line," of a supposedly planned "cadre shake-up," and the like. Reality itself refuted these fabrications, V. Medvedev stressed, and emphasized the fact that in the course of preparations for the CPSU Central Committee plenum everything was undertaken to eliminate elements of formalism, ostentation, and over-organization, from which work had suffered in the past. [paragraph continues]

The atmosphere and course of the plenum was unusual. All participants received in advance the theses of the report, a brochure containing the draft law on the socialist enterprise, and several dozen pages of excerpts from working people's letters related to cadre work. Each conclusion in Mikhail Gorbachev's report was based on a large number of proposals, comments, observations, and positions of Communists and Soviet working people. The Soviet public followed the plenum with tremendous interest. The CPSU Central Committee and the editorial offices of newspapers and journals have received a large number of letters. Comrade Medvedev stressed that the preparations for the plenum proceeded, inter alia, from the experiences of fraternal communist parties. With this in mind, the CPSU Central Committee dispatched abroad several special working groups. The work of the session itself was conceived anew; contrary to the past, the discussion statements were not agreed on in advance, or consulted with Central Committee departments, or fixed; more than 70 comrades asked to speak in the discussion, and 34 comrades spoke in the sequence in which they had asked to speak -- and not according to the hierarchy, as done previously. Comrade Medvedev expressed appreciation of the fact that the statements did not contain lengthy self-appraisals, but concentrated on a businesslike analysis of the problems under discussion. The conclusions of the plenum were approved unanimously, and this unanimity was not merely a formality -- it thoroughly reflected the discussion of all issues at the plenum. Thus there was no "split" and no "conflicts," as certain circles are trying to impress upon people in the West.

The significance of the session lies in the fact that it not only affirmed the correct nature of the policy worked out by the Central Committee session in April 1985 and by the CPSU Congress, but further expanded and deepened the grasp of all tasks confronting society. That is why it was essential once again to carry out a full and thorough analysis of the development in the past period; and, to put it frankly, the negative development at the end of the seventies and the beginning of the eighties had made an impact on all areas of the society's life. In this context, one could ask, why return again to past things, why dissect the past again? But without a serious, deep analysis one could not progress further, one could not see our further road, or work out and push through the constructive program of further construction. However, at the same time, a critical attitude to the past period absolutely does not mean a negation of all that undoubtedly has been achieved, V. Medvedev pointed out. History must be seen truthfully, nothing must be left out. One must not forget the lessons of the past, because they are also part of international experience.

The session in fact worked out a comprehensive program of the democratization of our society, Comrade Medvedev recalled. At the same time, we have here the basic fact that these deep and essentially revolutionary processes are taking place on the initiative of the CPSU and under its leadership. This is an extremely important circumstance. The party's authority is not only not affected by this, but, on the contrary, it is greatly enhanced. The restructuring is fully oriented toward consolidating socialism. It is no secret, Comrade Medvedev continued, that people who in the past were totally discredited, who went bankrupt, and who fell through the trap-door of history are now trying to creep out into the daylight. These people are saying today: Look, in the USSR they are doing what we were suggesting some 15-20 years ago. However, there is a substantial, essentially decisive difference, V. Medvedev remarked. In the past these people speculated on real problems and, under the slogan of renewal, attempted to undermine socialism. On the other hand, we are doing everything to consolidate it. They strove to weaken the party, to undermine it, and to destroy socialist statehood. On the other hand, we are taking care to consolidate the party's role, to strengthen its links with the masses, to develop socialist popular self-administration.

Comrade Medvedev further devoted himself to the creative exchange of experience among the socialist countries, a mutual enrichment by experience from socialist construction. He stressed that the CPSU draws on findings of the fraternal parties. However, each country has its specific conditions, and therefore we are miles away from the idea that someone's political conclusions can be transferred mechanically elsewhere. Every party works on the basis of the conclusions of its congress. At the same time, using what has been gained through experience is an unusually important activity. When elaborating on the concept of restructuring, Comrade Medvedev noted, the CPSU was taking into account the results of the socialist countries in various spheres, drawing on the experience, for example, of the introduction of full economic accountability [khozraschet], the development of the election system, the work of social organizations, the taking into account of public opinion, the perception of socialist democracy as an entity, and so forth. The CPSU accepts the experience of others in a creative manner, approaches it without prejudice, and does not put it into antithesis with its practice. At the same time, it is prepared to share its experience. Socialism grows naturally from collective experience, said Comrade Medvedev in summary. We are in favor of mutual responsibility and support.

He spoke further about the public being better informed [o prohlubovani verejne informovanosti]. The flow of information to the public, he said, does not aim at some sort of "settling accounts with the past," or at sensationalism, the readers' cheap attention-getting. It concentrates seriously on the solution of present problems and orients people toward future tasks. Its purpose is improving all aspects of work connected with the society's build up. The mass information media in the USSR are greatly contributing to the renewal of the moral climate in the country. The press very sharply criticizes shortcomings, negative phenomena, alien methods, and so forth. There are times when the following question crops up: Does not the broad extent of information [siroka informovanost] harm us? Does it not undermine the party's authority?

The answer is unambiguous; it is affirmed by past as well as present experience, by experience that is negative as well as positive. Irreconcilability toward shortcomings of socialism does not undermine; on the contrary, it is helping to strengthen the people's faith in the strength of socialism. It is knocking out weapons from the hands of our opponents. It is clear to everyone that sidestepping real shortcomings and problems leads to serious ideological consequences. It means that we either agree with such shortcomings, that is, that they are directly growing out of the fabric of socialist life, or that we do not realize them, by which we clear the way for our enemies.

We do not hide the fact that not everybody everywhere realizes the need to see things critically, the CPSU Central Committee secretary said, and not everywhere are people capable of shedding the old stereotypes; we still come across painful, irritated reaction to criticism, to the public's being informed [verejna informovanost]. The people need the full truth, however. The public's being informed, criticism and self-criticism, and democracy are the guarantees of the society's healthy development. At the same time, however, the plenum underscored that the public's being informed does not only mean criticism, but the support for everything that is good, beneficial, new, everything that is discovering what is coming into being in society. These are the two sides of the same coin -- the rejection of the negative phenomena of the past with an all-round support for the good, to which the future belongs.

V. Medvedev said that the CPSU will now discuss the conclusions of the January plenum in all committees of the primary organizations, not in a hurried manner or in the form of a campaign. It will require several months to link this work directly with the concrete assertion of the plenum's conclusions and to put them into broad practice.

RADIO FREE EUROPE UNDERMINING POLISH TU MOVEMENT

PM231605 Moscow TRUD in Russian 18 Feb 87 p 3

[Special correspondent Yu. Vasilkov dispatch under the rubric "Attention: Subversion!": "Now They Want to Get in Step..."]

[Text] Katowice-Warsaw -- The time when the reborn Polish trade unions were subjected to all kinds of obstruction from figures in the illegal "Solidarity" and its Western patrons is still fresh in the memory. Radio Free Europe, for instance, tried until it was blue in the face to persuade its listeners to boycott the new movement and predicted that it would be a rapid and total failure.

However, in a short time, overcoming enormous difficulties, the reborn trade unions gained a firm foothold and managed to gain prestige among the working people, more than half of whom are members.

Under these circumstances, the enemy hurriedly began drawing up a new strategy in the struggle for influence in Polish labor collectives. The same Radio Free Europe issued appeals to those who are still loyal to "Solidarity" to "use various legal events for their activity, including those organized by the new trade unions."

The other day Munich issued a direct instruction: "Certain actions may even be conducted with the new trade unions, but it must be clear that the initiative comes from 'Solidarity.'" True, at the end of the broadcast, as if suddenly coming to their senses, the authors stipulated: "But the difference between them and 'Solidarity' -- a trade union pluralism that has still not been recognized -- must be clear-cut!"

Listeners unaware of Polish reality may get the impression that those speaking on behalf of "Solidarity" indeed represent an influential force. Actually things are different. They are essentially a small group of adventurists using every opportunity to whip up social unrest and undermine the Polish trade union movement's unity.

I saw this for myself yet again the other day when talking with trade union activists at various Polish enterprises. The situation is not simple in the economy or in the trade union movement, but today's problems are quite different from those of 4-5 years ago. Indeed, this was openly said at the 10th PZPR Congress and the congress of reborn Polish trade unions. In short, they can be called growing pains.

"But we believe in our strength and in the correctness of the path we have chosen," Zbigniew Pabianczyk, trade union chairman at the "Katowice" Metallurgical Combine -- the largest in Poland -- stated. "This scares those who still hope to hamper us. So they are telling 'their men' to get in step with us. But do they think they'll suddenly mislead the workers again?!"

Zbigniew, like other Polish activists, realizes that people in the West are trying to revive "Solidarity," which served imperialist interests so faithfully.

Be realistic, gentlemen! Surely you cannot fail to realize that though Mr Walesa and certain of his entourage continue to willingly give Western journalists interviews "on behalf of Polish working people," it is not enough to really represent a mass social organization!

HUNGARIAN TRADE OFFICIAL ADDRESSES MOSCOW MEETING

PM201148 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Feb 87 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Familiarization With Experience"]

[Text] About 100 joint economic organizations with the participation of foreign capital have been set up in Hungary. The experience accumulated by the fraternal country in this sphere was described to representatives of a number of Soviet ministries, departments, and major enterprises by T. Beck, chairman of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce. The meeting took place at the USSR Chamber of Trade and Industry in Moscow on 17 February.

The Hungarian Government, the speaker noted, supports the creation of joint enterprises as an activity which accords with the long-term aims of the country's economic policy. These economic organizations are called upon to help improve the technical and economic standard and promote the introduction of modern machinery and methods of organizing production.

REPORTAGE ON OFFICIAL VISIT OF ITALY'S FANFANI

Arrives 22 Feb

LD221332 Moscow TASS in English 1301 GMT 22 Feb 87

[Text] Moscow February 22 TASS -- Amintore Fanfani, president of the Italian Senate, arrived in Moscow today for an official visit at the invitation of the chairmen of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

At the airport he was met by Lev Tolkunov, chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Dmitriy Venediktov, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies of the USSR, and by other officials.

Among the welcoming party was Sergio Romano, the ambassador of Italy to the USSR.

Received by Gromyko

LD232036 Moscow TASS in English 1606 GMT 23 Feb 87

[Text] Moscow February 23 TASS -- Andrey Gromyko, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, received in the Kremlin today Amintore Fanfani, prominent Italian politician and chairman of the Senate of the Italian Republic.

At the beginning of the conversation Fanfani said that the present visit was the first official trip to the Soviet Union of a chairman of the Italian Senate in the history of Soviet-Italian relations. Touching upon problems of war and peace, he said that from the point of view of Italians a war did not promote anything and one could not build anything with the help of it. Today's circumstances are such that the two great powers, the Soviet Union and the U.S., should become the guarantors of peace in international relations.

Andrey Gromyko said that the Soviet Union would also like it to be this way. However, a number of governments are following a different path: They are increasing military allocations, developing new types of weapons, stockpiling nuclear weapons and seeking to implement the program of militarization of space. Their offices and laboratories are working on the sly, not in sight of the peoples, and these activities are being carried on to a considerable extent behind the veil of secrecy.

Speaking about the Soviet concept of the world, he emphasized that today it was important to all participants in international dealings to agree on the main point: to do their utmost for warding off the menace of a nuclear war. Humanity is capable of doing it.

The already created capacity to destroy the earth and all the living beings is madness. Our country and people come out for putting an end to this madness. Nature has created man and humanity not for them to destroy themselves.

Security should be created not through the building up of stockpiles of weapons, but through trust, cooperation and the solution of security problems on the basis of reciprocity. Some politicians are lacking the awareness of the danger that has emerged for peace, for all the people in the world, and the resolve to eliminate it. The U.N. Charter exists not for being used as a cover-up for the interference of some countries in the internal affairs of others, for the policy of international terrorism, for the striving for establishing military domination over the world.

The Soviet Union which is aware of its immense responsibility and is proud of its policy of peace and humanism will continue to use its authority and influence for promoting peace and friendship. This fully refers to the countries of Europe which is home both for Italy and the USSR.

Our foreign policy activities and doctrines reflect the aspirations and plans of the Soviet people in the sphere of the internal development of the state. Peace and peace alone — this is the guideline of the USSR foreign policy which is expressed in concrete proposals set forth by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in Geneva, Reykjavik and quite recently in Moscow at the international forum "For Nuclear-Free World, For the Survival of Humanity".

Andrey Gromyko told the chairman of the Italian Senate about the results of the January 1987 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and about the fundamental problems connected with the development and renewal of the Soviet society which had been discussed there.

Assessing the transformations which are going on in the Soviet Union in connection with the reorganization, Amintore Fanfani pointed out that no one in Italy believed that it was possible to build a better world without the USSR. This is why Italy is following with interest the USSR overcoming difficulties. He emphasized that the Italian people were very much interested in the transformations now under way in the USSR. He spoke out in favour of redoubling joint efforts of political, public and business circles aimed at further developing bilateral cooperation, in favour of the improvement of the world situation.

Gromyko and Fanfani discussed some questions connected with the development of the situation in Europe. They went on record in favour of the development of the all-European process, of the successful continuation of the Vienna meeting and of large-scale peaceful cooperation in the continent both on the multilateral and bilateral basis.

Both sides expressed satisfaction over the development of relations between the Soviet Union and Italy, specifically, along the parliamentary lines. Such contacts have become more regular of late and their level has been raised. They pointed out the need for further activization of those relations.

Gromyko and Fanfani discussed the volume and significance for the Soviet Union and Italy of trade and economic relations. The USSR regards Italy as a reliable partner. Business relations between the two countries have passed the test of time.

The conversation was held in an open and friendly atmosphere.

Meets With Gorbachev

LD241915 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1805 GMT 24 Feb 87

[Text] Moscow, 24 Feb (TASS) -- Mikhail Gorbachev today met in the Kremlin with Amintore Fanfani, chairman of the Italian Republic's senate. The partners in the conversation touched on the most important issues of our times. They discussed politicians' high level of responsibility for the destinies of their countries, of Europe, and the world; about the place of Italy and the USSR in the contemporary world process; the role of science in forming policy; the importance of mutual understanding between ideologically different forces; and of a serious and respectful attitude toward every people's choice of its own historical path.

There was mention of how important links between a country's leadership and its people are, especially at the present stage, and of the importance of both correcting policy in accordance with public perception and the way it influences them, and also guaranteeing feedback of ideas, opinions, and advice coming from the people.

For the development of a modern state it is very important to seek out, highlight, and define the proper place for talent, not only in production, science, technology and culture, but also in the sphere of politics itself and of public activity.

M.S. Gorbachev briefed A. Fanfani on current Soviet domestic and foreign policy, and that some approaches to solving problems facing the country had already been found, while others still must be researched and formulated.

The policy of restructuring has been drafted by the whole of the objective course of the country's development and by the whole of the complex and difficult history of our state. Its necessity arose a long time ago, but there was delay in observing this, and figuratively speaking, the child's old clothes began to come apart on the adolescent. Society has matured; through suffering it has won the changes that are now being implemented. The road ahead of us is a long one. We shall tread firmly and consistently, but also carefully, so as not to upset the boat, and so that neither the crew nor the passengers get seasick. In this we shall be strictly guided by socialist principles and criteria.

A. Fanfani spoke about the intense interest in Italy and among all strata of Italian society in what is now happening in the Soviet Union, and that every Italian possessing political awareness wishes the Soviet leadership success in the new transformations. Success in these changes in the Soviet Union has huge importance for the whole world, but its failure would be a tragedy for mankind.

M.S. Gorbachev described the international situation as unsatisfactory. The arms race is continuing, and the risk of war is growing. The alternative is in the humanizing of international relations. What is necessary for this is new thinking proceeding from an understanding of general mutual dependence and rooted on the idea of civilization's survival.

If in politics they can realize this and put it into practice, then it will be a victory for reason. For our part, we are not only proclaiming a new outlook on the world but also strive to do something concrete, not just to please anyone but because this is necessary to resolve both our domestic problems and common, international ones to which we have a total responsible attitude.

The partners in conversation discovered much in common in their understanding of what mankind now needs, having achieved a high level of scientific-technical progress that is burdened by acute problems both on a national and international level.

M.S. Gorbachev discussed the profound respect for the Italian people and about his desire to have another meeting with Italy; he spoke highly of the political dialogue between the USSR and Italy, expressed satisfaction at their economic relations, and a readiness to develop these in accordance with the times in the interests of Italy and the USSR, and for the good of Europe and of the cause of peace.

Reviews Talks With Gorbachev

LD241823 Moscow TASS in English 1709 GMT 24 Feb 87

[Text] Moscow February 24 TASS -- "I would like to emphasise an atmosphere of frankness and cordiality in which my meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) was held today," said Amintore Fanfani, president of the senate of the Italian Republic, who is visiting here.

He spoke at a press conference for Soviet and foreign journalists today.

"We spoke as persons who feel concern for the world's future," Amintore Fanfani said. "We spoke of the development of the industrial revolution, agriculture, and the nuclear-power industry."

"A particular importance of the current industrial revolution is that changes are coming in the pattern of production, in working people's participation in production management, and in the correlation of brainwork and manual labor".

"What is now taking place in the Soviet Union can be described as the discovery of talents which are being used for the benefit of societal development," pointed out the president of the Italian Senate.

"I can point out that a reassessment of what has been done is now under way in the Soviet Union: a rise in labour productivity and in the output of products. I realised that Soviet people are steadily resolved to proceed along this road."

"The huge funds which are now being invested in the arms race should be switched over to uses for the needs of societal development, for people's benefit, and for the purpose of progress," Amintore Fanfani said.

REPORTAGE ON VISIT OF FRENCH ASSEMBLY DELEGATION

Arrives 16 Feb

LD161728 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1645 GMT 16 Feb 87

[Text] Moscow 16 Feb TASS -- A delegation of the French National Assembly's Foreign Affairs Commission headed by Roland Dumas, chairman of the commission, arrived today in Moscow for an official visit at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Foreign Affairs Commission. At the airport, the delegation was met by Leonid Popov and Georgiy Zhukov, deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and by other officials. Also present was Yves Paignez, ambassador of the French Republic in the USSR.

Dumas, Aristov Discuss Trade

LD200420 Moscow TASS in English 2137 GMT 19 Feb 87

[Text] Moscow February 19 TASS -- Useful and constructive, this is how chairman of the Commission for Foreign Relations of France Roland Dumas summed up his today's meeting here with the USSR Minister of Foreign Trade Boris Aristov.

The sides have arrived at the conclusion that the present state of Soviet-French commercial and economic cooperation is not in keeping with the potential of both countries, Roland Dumas said. It was noted during the meeting that the reorganisation of the management of external economic ties implemented in the Soviet Union, specifically the granting of a fuller independence to Soviet enterprises and amalgamations might result in the development of business ties between the USSR and France.

Much attention during the talks was paid to the discussion of new forms of economic coopoeration between organisations and firms of the two countries, specifically the possibility of setting up joint enterprises on the Soviet territory, Roland Dumas said.

Dobrynin, Dumas Hold Talks

LD201736 Moscow TASS in English 1716 GMT 20 Feb 87

[Text] Moscow February 20 TASS -- Soviet-French mutual understanding has already more than once opened up an opportunity for specific steps towards improving the international situation, building up security and cooperation in Europe and the whole world.

This was pointed out at a meeting of a delegation of the Foreign Affairs Commissions of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet led by Anatoliy Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Soviet of Nationlities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, with a delegation of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the French National Assembly led by its chawirman Roland Dumas.

The sides pointed out that East-West relations are at an important stage opened as a result of the major international events, which have taken place, in particular, the Soviet-American meeting in Reykjavik.

Realizing the danger of the military-strategic consequences stemming from the implementation of the SDI programmes, both delegations have declared against the spreading of the weapons race into outer space.

The sides pointed out the closeness of the stands of the Soviet Union and France on the issue of a political Middle East settlement, in favour of convening an international conference on the Middle East and setting up a preparatory committee within the framework of the U.N. Security Council.

Both sides expressed concern over the continuing Iraq-Iran war, the danger of other countries being drawn into the conflict, and pointed out the need for pressing ahead for putting an end to the conflict through political talks, invigorating the role of the United Nations Organization in the settlement of the conflict.

In examining the state of political relations and bilateral Soviet-French cooperation the commitment was stressed of both sides to the implementation of the accords reached in the course of the meetings of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and the president of France held in October 1985 and in July 1986. The need was pointed out for enhancing the role of the Soviet-French dialogue in international relations, despite the differences in the approaches to a number of international issues.

Shevardnadze Receives Dumas

LD211336 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1319 GMT 21 Feb 87

[Text] Moscow, 21 Feb (TASS) -- Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, USSR minister of foreign affairs, today received Roland Dumas, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the French National Assembly, former minister of external relations, who is in the USSR as head of a delegation of French deputy members of the committee.

During the course of a conversation, Eduard Shevardnadze stressed that the process of restructuring and democratization which is under way in the Soviet Union is convincing testimony to the peaceful direction of Soviet policy and helps to foster an atmosphere of trust in international relations.

Both sides expressed a desire to develop and deepen Soviet-French political mutual understanding and cooperation in all fields in the interests of the peoples of the USSR and France and the strengthening of security in Europe and throughout the world.

DEMICHEV RECEIVES SPANISH ENVOY'S CREDENTIALS

LD201501 Moscow TASS in English 1501 GMT 20 Feb 87

[Text] Moscow February 20 TASS -- Spain's ambassador, Jose Cuenca, presented his credentials to Petr Demichev, first vice-president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, in the Kremlin today.

After exchanging speeches, they had a friendly conversation.

GORBACHEV'S MEETING WITH MEDIA CHIEFS PONDERED

PM241621 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 8, 22 Feb 87 p 8

[Yegor Yekovlev report: "Openness, Democracy, Responsibility"; the first three paragraphs are an unattributed introduction; passages between slantlines are published in italics]

[Text] Wrapped up in everyday cares, we usually fail to notice the rapid changes in society. But as the world changes, we change too, and only if we stop and think of the past do we realize the changes which seem to us to have been very rapid.

A similar feeling arises if we ponder the impact that the 27th CPSU Congress (held only one year ago) has had on the Soviet Union. As we look back over the path travelled, we now see and hear about events about which we would not have heard a year ago.

Let's mention some of them.

A meeting with leaders of mass media and propaganda organs has been held at the CPSU Central Committee. A businesslike exchange of opinion was held on up-to-date tasks of the mass media, in the light of the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenary Meeting. Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, spoke at the meeting. The mass media and propaganda leaders who spoke at the meeting expressed unanimous support for the decisions of the January 1987 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee. Yegor Ligachev, Member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Aleksandr Yakovlev, Alternate Member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and Secretary of the CPSU Central committee, attended the meeting.

Notes by a Participant in the Meeting at the CPSU Central Committee [subhead]

There were 15 speakers. Mikhail Gorbachev spoke about 50 minutes, opening and closing the meeting. It started at 10 a.m. and ended at nearly 4 p.m. However, it was rather a set of dialogues than an exchange of opinion. Gorbachev conversed with practically every speaker -- he accepted and developed their ideas, and sometimes rejected and argued them. But it was always an exchange of ideas. The exchange of words is sometimes fussy, trifling and complimentary. But an idea is a value in itself. A true exchange of ideas is always conducted on an equal footing and is democratic in its essence.

When I was closing my full notebook I hardly thought that I'd have to open it the minute I get back to the office. I could hear the telephone ringing already in the corridor. A well-known playwright was calling: "What happened at the meeting? What decisions were taken?" The next call was from an equally well-known journalist who asked the same questions. The questions poured in and were not simply interested queries but questions put by alarmed people. Could it be possible that everything new now being established in our life would disintegrate and break off?

What can I say to that? The decisions adopted a year ago at the 27th CPSU Congress are here to stay. The January Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central committee has expanded the revolutionary nature of what is going on even more. Even the preparations for the Plenary Meeting proved to be some job -- as it was mentioned at the meeting, its convocation was postponed three times. The Plenary Meeting had to provide the theory and the policy of reconstruction and to translate the line of the 27th Party Congress into the realm of practical work in all directions. [paragraph continues]

The January Plenary Meeting lived up to expectations. However, troubled questions still remain and give rise to all sorts of inventions. Let's try to figure out why.

Firstly, because of us. We are hurrying as if walking on hot coals -- we want to show, print and stage all the things that were buried for decades as quickly as possible. We want to do that overnight. We explain it, saying that we have already had occasions for disillusion. You know, if you put a cat through a wringer, the cat is bound to get wringerphobia for life. We are apt to mix up our own personal emotions with politics, which means that we're reducing politics to an amateur status.

Are there any grounds for this? There are no grounds, it was said at the meeting. The society earned reconstruction through suffering. And no one intends to abate the intensity of criticism. To do that would mean to harm reconstruction. Whereas it should be supported, predicted and developed. Gorbachev asked the audience: "Can anyone name any other alternative? There is no other alternative!"

From the notebook: Gorbachev shares things which, according to him, had been said only within a narrow circle in the past. If the Plenary Meeting had convened and arrived at the conclusion that reconstruction does not justify itself and it should be rejected, I would have said: I cannot work otherwise. It is high time to stop discussions about reconstruction. We need to discuss not reconstruction but its progress.

Concerning another point (which also has an effect on our concerns for tomorrow) -- about our unpreparedness for democratic thinking and assessments, for perceiving opposite opinions.

Not to Lose the Feedback [subhead]

When answering a phone call to the office you sometimes understand all at once that the reader is annoyed by something the paper wrote. After listening to such a call I say -- you don't like the author's opinion. OK, we are prepared to print your point of view, too. As a rule, this puts an end to the conversation, because it is one thing to express one's opinion on the phone, and quite a different thing to express it publicly. It is quite easy to discourse on democracy among friends but it is quite hard to honestly abide by its laws. Once the militia at night stopped a car driven by a very celebrated and very inebriated poet at the wheel. "But I! But I!" bleated the poet. "But you," he was told, "advocated that the demands would be placed on everyone equally, so now be good enough to answer for your actions on an equal footing with everybody."

We must learn democracy and get used to it. As it was stressed at the meeting, the main idea of the January Plenary Meeting was to develop democracy -- in the economy, in politics and within the party itself. Only a consistent democratization can protect society against repeating old errors.

From the notebook: The speaker says that methods have taken shape of how to ignore press comments. They are keeping silent and mailing formal answers to the press. It is also looking askance at the press, something which could be felt at one of the speeches at the Plenary meeting. Gorbavhev said -- a person must speak his or her mind. And it is very good when he or she share their thoughts. It is imperative to learn to perceive the opposite opinion. Any other approach would impede democracy. Democracy is not a situation where everything is smoothly ironed out. Arguments are a component of democracy. However, somebody once said that the truth can evaporate when passions get overheated.

After shaking off one set of dogmas we often get enmeshed in another set of dogmas, Gorbachev said at the meeting. It has become fashionable to lash out at all and sundry, excluding the press. Whereas no one enjoys the right to truth in the last instance in our society. The main character in our press is not the correspondent and not a writer. It is the people. The press must express the people's opinion. It would be undemocratic to think and act otherwise.

Historic Truth Is Always in 3D [subhead]

I finished the book I'm Coming With You in the early 60s. One of its chapters deals with a conversation I had one night with Hero of the Soviet Union General Ivan Solovev. He could not forgive Stalin for many things. But at the same time he said that he'd never forget how the country was completing its 2nd Five-Year Plan, how everyone was reading and rereading And Quiet Flows the Don, and waiting for Chkalov's return from the USA after his famous flight.

The MS was kept by the publishers for a long time. They said that the author was not critical enough of Stalin. At the outset of 1965 the book was published at long last and had good press reviews. A second edition was prepared. But it was never published. The publishers arrived at the conclusion that the author was overcritical of Stalin. A mere year had passed between the first and the aborted second edition. And no one, of course, had abolished the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee "On the Overcoming of the Personality Cult and Its Consequences". We had travelled for so long, guided by markers of exaggerations that we have started to exaggerate ourselves -- some of us carrying things too far in one direction and others -- too far in the opposite direction. And, as it turns out, it is too much of an effort for us to get together and march in one direction.

At the meeting much was said about a correct and careful approach to our history. The January Plenary Meeting made a critical analysis of the past. And it was done at a time when the sentiment became widespread -- are we not indulging in a striptease for the whole world to see, are we not laying bare our problems too much, and not noticing anything good? Whereas, the January Plenary Meeting was concerned with events, not persons and this was done a learn leassons for today or tomorrow. As Gorbachev said at the meeting, we had to go back to the source, to the roots, so as to grasp where we are had what has happened.

Our history has the answers to all the questions. And many people agreed that we need the reader, the history which would answer the heightened interest in the past which is so characteristic of the society's frame of mind today. And in the process there should be no forgotten names or blank spots. We must recognize history as it is. We should not rewrite it or iron it out, being able to see at each stage of our 70-year-long path the progress which took place. We must not, for example, forget the problems of industrialization. But if it were not for industrialization, the Soviet people would have been squashed by Nazi panzers. We should not forget names, but it is even more amoral to forget or to keep silent about entire periods in the people's life.

From the notebook: /The speaker says that social sciences are lagging behind and that we won't be able to get new social scientists overnight. Gorbachev is against this way of putting the question. We shall carry on reconstruction with our own people, With our own Party, with our own intelligentsia, with our own scientists -- with the people we have. Any other kind of approach is adventurism./

In the Name of Cardinal Interests [subhead]

After a show at the Lenin Komsomol Theatre, I had a talk with its artistic director Mark Zakharov, one of the initiators of the theatrical experiment, who is now carrying it out. I asked him: "Are any of the actors materially interested today in holding the experiment?"

"Probably not. But many of them realize its significance for the fate of the theatre."

I remembered this conversation at the meeting when it was said that reconstruction is not simply something in motion, but it involves everybody. Let's mention state, quality control -- for some people it became a drama. Last month from 7 to 30 per cent of output was not accepted at engineering enterprises. Still people realize -- it is impossible to do otherwise.

From the notebook: /The speaker says that we must heighten exactingness with an iron hand, but with an intelligent one./

Yes, reconstruction poses demands on everyone. Yes, it impinges on our interests, or to be more precise -- on our habits. But we believe in the revolutionary nature of what is going on. This means that we must also remember that revolutions are performed in the name of the people's radical interests. Didn't Maksim Gorkiy ponder over this dialectics of interests? He wrote: "Vladimir Lenin was a man who prevented the people to live in the way they were used to, much more than anyone else had managed to do this before."

From the notebook: /Gorbachev noted several times that in going in for figures we sometimes lose sight of more important processes. We strive to express reconstruction through figures, but people write to us: it has become more interesting to go to work. To make people interested in life, to help them get rid of apathy is more important than any figures. We get carried away with statistics -- how many deputies and other elected persons we have. In actual fact the entire people are now mature to enter in the political life./

Reconstruction should unite people rather than disunite them. Criticism and openness call for a high degree of responsibility. It is impermissible to make people feel offended, to make them unsure of themselves and to destroy them spiritually. Goodwill is what is needed so that everybody will find his or her own place and not only be called the builder of the new world but actually be a builder.

From the notebook: /Gorbachev recalled an article in which an offensive epithet was addressed to an official on a district level. But, in that case, what is democracy for, then? It's quite possible that the person mentioned is a poor worker. But he is a human being! So who gave anyone the right to insult him? We are not a separator to produce cream, dumping the test into a ditch./

The last to ask me about the meeting at the CPSU Central Committee was a United States correspondent who recently arrived in Moscow. The teleprinters were already transmitting the report about the meeting. But the United States colleague wanted to get firthand information. He was also eager to know whether criticism would stop and what about the future of openness? However, it wasn't so easy for us to understand each other. As it happened, we were advocates of diametrically opposed ideas. The violations of the principles of social justice, the inadequate openness in our life, the gap between the word and the deed and between politics and morality -- were always, for me, a contradiction to the ideals on which my generation was brought up and on which I brought up my children. [paragraph continues]

But for my United States colleague it was all the other way around -- the lack of democracy was socialism for him. And the establishment of democracy in his mind was incompatible with socialism. The United States correspondent said he'd visit our office again soon. I must ask him whether he has the social ideal which accompanies him his entire life and is established through innumerable trials? But imagine the happiness when this ideal is being translated into reality before your own eyes!

GORBACHEV CONTINUES BALTIC TOUR 19 FEBRUARY

Meeting With Party Aktiv

LD192352 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 19 Feb 87

[Excerpt] As we have already reported, this morning there was a meeting in Riga between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and the party aktiv of the Lativian SSR. Over to Aleksandr Ruvinskiy, our special correspondent in the Latvian capital.

[Ruvinskiy] The meeting with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev at the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee headquarters was attended by members of the Central Committee, economic managers, raykom secretaries, heads of major enterprises of the republic, front-ranking production workers and figures from science, culture, health care and education. The results of the general secretary's tour of Latvia were summarized and the tasks of the communists and all working people of the republic were discussed.

The issues of restructuring and acceleration in the life of the society were raised at the meeting by Pugo, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee; Klautsen, first secretary of the Riga Gorkom; Eyzhvertinya, a worker from the Daugavpils chemical fiber works; and Kavinskiy, general director of the Red October agro-firm. Shortcomings in the work of industry were discussed. The enterprises of the republic failed to fulfill the monthly plan in all indicators concerning the range of goods, introduction of the achievements of science, in the improvement of the management of the agro-industrial complex and in the quality of output and labor. These are only some of the issues that were raised in the speeches.

The speakers voiced warm support for the decisions of the January plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

The party and economic aktiv was addressed by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. [passage omitted]

Gorbachev Speech

LD221930 Riga Domestic Service in Russian 0729 GMT 19 Feb 87

[Speech by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at a meeting with party, local soviet, and economic aktiv of the Latvian SSR on 19 February -- live or recorded]

[Text] Dear Comrades!

I cordially greet you on behalf of our party central committee and through you I wish to greet all working people and inhabitants of Soviet Latvia. [applause]

First I want to say that I am very pleased that the opportunity has arisen for me to visit your republic.

The only thing is, I would not agree with the secretary of the gorkom [referring to previous speech by Klaucens] when he said that I came here on a visit. That somehow implies something, you know, that was not the reason I came! I have come on a business trip. Until now I have only managed to visit Lithuania, where I carried out a mission entrusted to me by the central committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium: I took part in festive events devoted to the 40th anniversary of the restoration of Soviet rule in the republic, and I presented the Order of the October Revolution, which was conferred on Soviet Lithuania.

It was an interesting and busy trip that enabled me to become well acquainted with the republic, as there was an opportunity to come into close contact with people at a time when their hearts were open for such contact, to take part in your [as heard] song festivals by which you [as heard] traditionally celebrate that date, to travel through the republic -- that was in July -- and I was very impressed.

Now I am visiting your republic. Ahead lies my trip to Soviet Estonia. Thus my long-standing wish to get to know more closely the life of the peoples of the Soviet Baltic republics has been fulfilled, and in the light of my new duties it takes on a particular significance.

During the days of my stay in Riga and a few other places I have had many interesting, meaningful meetings and conversations. These were conversations at enterprises, with rural inhabitants, and simply with holidaymakers and people on the streets.

Let me say that all these talks are very important for me, inasmuch as this is my first stay on Latvian soil. I wanted, and I think this is quite natural, to see, hear, learn, and understand as much as possible, and to form my own personal conception on the basis of these living impressions, although I have the impression that I have been in Latvia many times. This is probably because we all are acquainted with our common history; it is thoughly interconnected over the course of many centuries, and the more so in recent decades.

I have seen many of the films produced by the Riga film studio which reflect the history, the struggle, and the present day of the peoples of the Baltic republics. It is an interesting film studio; it puts its own stamp on things. I watched the films of Marilita Ozolinya; I have seen the film Long Journey in the Sand Dunes, like everyone else, like the whole country. That, too, is a good film, it describes the destiny of the people, the fishermen, and it takes place over a long, historic period. I think it was a good film, a very good film, and popular.

I am acquainted with the literature, though more with the literature of the past, I have to say self-critically. Perhaps one of my favorite writers was Vilis Lacis. The 4- or 5-volume collection of his works -- it is difficult for me to remember now -- was among the first set of collected works to appear in my library. They are wonderful books -- instructive, especially the ones that describe the period after the... in the thirties, that describe the difficult struggle by the Latvian people for their future.

So it may be the first time I have been here, but I know a lot already. Nevertheless, I am finding yet again that nothing, no other form of contact -- and writers and other artists should not take offense -- can replace personal contacts, meetings, and conversations. That is very important. So I am very much in agreement with Kristina Ivanovna [not further identified] when she said that people from the Ministry of the Chemical Industry also ought to come to Latvia and spend some time at the enterprise. That is probably right.

I shall say straight out that Latvia leaves a great impression on me, and Riga in particular, of course. Now I have an even greater interest in seeing what Riga looks like in the summer! [laughter and applause] It is a city with a fine history, a great city in its modern achievements in all spheres of human activity.

My business trip to your republic is my first since the January plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. You have probably grasped this from the television broadcasts. I naturally had a great desire to hear from the working people of the republic their opinion of the plenum, their assessment of the plenum, and to learn of their plans in connection with the decisions of the January plenum of the party's Central Committee. On this score I have formed thoroughly defined opinions, of which I shall tell. However, I will begin our meeting, comrades, with a very important political statement.

We have entered and are living and working in a jubilee year. In November 1987 the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution will take place. This is the main event in our common history. I think that we rightly can call this event a turning point for the destinies of the peoples of our multinational socialist state. It is also a very great event of the 20th century, one which has exerted a huge influence on the whole world process.

The peoples of our country have something to tell the world this year in summing up the results of our struggle, something to celebrate, something to be proud of, something to place on the scales of history: It is, above all, our common, powerful, modern state, and our political, economic, social, and cultural achievements, which we have attained after making our socialist choice.

Usually at such a time we ponder the past, evaluate the present attentively and critically, and stare intently into the future. This is all understandable and justified.

We know the genuine history of czarist Russia, and we have our view and evaluations about this based on scientific Marxist analysis. We know and have our judgments with regard to the nationalities policy conducted by the czarist autocracy. In the memories of our peoples there is constantly retained and handed down from generation to generation the fact that, several times in the course of many centuries -- in the present case I mean the region of our country in which I am now -- the Russian warrior-liberator has helped the Baltic peasant and fisherman to defend his native land against desecration and servitude and to protect it against the foreign invader.

I also could mention that the tradition of deep links -- deeply rooted links from centuries ago -- between the best sons of our peoples is what we call our common property, something we are proud of, and something that today has become particularly consolidated and that bears remarkable fruit.

The Baltic peoples' path to socialism was a thorny and difficult one. The government of the soviets existed in Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia only for a few months, a historical instant, after October. However, that taste of freedom merely reinforced the longing for social justice and national independence.

The entire heroic struggle for the declaration, restoration, and consolidation of Soviet power in the Baltic territories is proof of the fact that it is impossible to break the revolutionary will of the peoples. Their headway cannot be reversed.

At my meeting with you I would like to recall how highly Vladimir Ilich Lenin appraised the class solidarity and the cohesion of the Bolshevik organizations and proletarian masses in Latvia.

During the revolution, the Latvian proletariat and Latvian social-democracy, he wrote, held one of the leading and most prominent places in the struggle against the autocracy and all the forces of the old order.

Going back into history, we see the workers and peasants of the Baltic territories in common formation with the Russian proletariat. Your excellent museum-monument to the Latvian Red Riflemen has made an ineffaceable impression on me. In the most severe tests those legendary fighters displayed truly massive heroism and showed themselves to be a genuine example of internationalism and courage in the defense of the gains of October. I very much enjoyed meeting them. I was amazed, although I expected this, by the strength of those people's spirit. It is an example for you and me. [applause]

The feat by the Latvian riflemen really was an example, for all the peoples of or country, of faithfulness to the ideals of the socialist revolution.

Yes, the peoples of the Baltic region were a long time arriving at their present choice. Both this choice and what exists today, it can be stated plainly, have been gained through suffering, through the joint struggle with the Russian and other peoples of our state.

As the youngest members in the multinational family of the USSR, the Baltic republics have acquired national Soviet statehood, which guarantees genuine freedom and democracy for the working people.

It is, perhaps, also worth saying something today on a subject about which we do not always speak, something we have in point of fact become used to and regard as if it goes without saying. I refer to the gains of socialism.

Recently, in a foreign newspaper, our society was called a society without fear. The context in which this was said was: How does the present Soviet leadership, Gorbachev, intend to put into motion that society which has no fears, which lives contented and with no cares about tomorrow? Why do they have to restructure? This, of course, is transmitted in Russian and other languages of the peoples of our country. I understand the aim of it, I can detect why it is being said. Nonetheless this is a highly significant admission by the bourgeois press. There is no getting away from it, as the saying goes

Indeed, our society does not know a social catastrophe such as unemployment, the flouting of the most elementary human rights, or uncertainly about tomorrow. I speak of this in order to stress to what level, what height of economic and social progress our revolution has lifted all the country's peoples.

It is another matter that today these achievements no longer satisfy us.

I think that the present generation should, on the one hand, always preserve the gains, the inheritance, left to them by the previous generations of the country. However, I think that they are not simply the guardians of that inheritance; their task -- and this is the way I understand the role of every generation in our country -- is to multiply that inheritance. So from that aspect, we today -- using the achievements, the enormous achievements of the peoples of our country, and relying on this firm basis -- are building our plans, our long-term policies, and we want to accelerate the movement of our society. That is why we are oriented toward decisively restructuring our society and giving it acceleration.

Just remember how hopelessly weak and isolated the economies of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia were during the bourgeois regimes. Lacking raw materials, a land of small farmsteads, and moreover devastated by the foreign intervention and the local bourgeoisie, the Baltic territories literally tailed behind the rest of Europe. The people in Germany and other countries looked at these lands as the backwater of Europe. This is vividly and convincingly shown most forcefully in the literature and art of the Baltic peoples.

In the conditions of socialism, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia have fused their material and spiritual resources with the other union republics, and have received the unique opportunity of drawing on the enormous potential of the national-economy complex of our whole country. What has occurred is not a simple combining of forces, but a multiplication of forces many times over.

During the years of socialist transformations, the former bourgeois states which were marked by characteristic economic depression and stagnation have become comprehensively developed Soviet republics with an industrial-agrarian economy embracing many sectors, republics with a solid scientific and cultural potential.

This, in itself, is a highly significant fact, for large-scale machine building, electric power engineering, and the chemicals industry have essentially been newly created and a strong mercantile and fisheries fleet has come into existence.

By comparison with 1940 -- the year they became part of the USSR -- industrial output has risen 55-fold in Latvia, 58-fold in Estonia, and 77-fold in Lithuania. All this is highly significant. For here we see an example of what people can do in the conditions of socialist society.

It is not only the face of towns, villages, and hamlets that has changed. Socialism has opened up broad scope for the national revival of all the peoples and nationalities of our country. Surely it can be said how wonderful it is that the grandsons of shepherds and artisans from this region have attained the status of important scientists, designers of the most intricate radio equipment, agricultural specialists, and outstanding representatives of literature and art, who have received top awards in our great and vast state. Many of them are well-known both in our country and abroad.

Today's working class and peasantry in the Baltic region is made up of people who are capable of performing the new tasks in agricultural and industry, of employing the attainments of scientific and technical progress.

Our very reality rebuts the malicious and slanderous fabrications of reactionary emigre circles and their Western patrons, who have been left behind in the backwoods of history. History has thrown overboard all their prophecies. Admittedly, they are still bending over backwards today to denigrate the achievements of the peoples of the Baltic region in the fraternal family of Soviet peoples. But as the saying goes, the dog barks, the wind blows, but the caravan moves on. [applause] No one will succeed in halting the onward progress of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Socialism can and will give the working people even more if we advance boldly on the road of the development of the creativity and initiative of the popular masses, innovation and renewal, the road of restructuring. [applause]

Perhaps now I shall move on immediately to talk on the subject of the January plenum of the Central Committee. For what it suggests is precisely an answer to the question as to how we, the present generation, should take over the relay baton from the preceding generations and make our contribution to our country's further development.

Already I have said that this is my first tour of the country since the Central Committee plenum. What interested me, naturally, in the first place was what Soviet people think of it, what conclusions they draw for themselves from the plenum's decisions, and how all this is influencing the pace, depth, and scale of restructuring.

Of course, I can only speak of my impressions. My feeling is as follows: The plenum has been accepted in Latvia; its significance has been understood here. [applause]

Already I have said that the January plenum is a special milestone, it seems, on our road of acceleration, our road of restructuring. The April plenum gave us the opportunity to interpret the situation in the country and to propose in a general form the contours of a future policy, a policy we have called the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development. A year of work after the April plenum enabled us to consider this policy and to present it to the congress, to the country, and to the world in a developed form.

Also it has been the case previously that we made major decisions of large-scale, political, strategic importance, but this was not always seen through to the end; this was not always implemented.

The task of the January plenum was to propose measures to the country, party, and people, the implementation of which would mean the implementation of the policy our congress endorsed.

We gave this long thought and consideration. Whatever questions we examined in this instance, they came down in the end, comrades, to one: If we are to put restructuring properly in motion, if this is not to turn into a campaign and fizzle out in a couple of years, or even sooner, we must do what matters: involve the people, who play the main role in restructuring.

Without people -- and unless they accept restructuring with heart, mind, and soul, and believe in it as their policy, needed by every person, every family, and every labor collective -- we will get nowhere. On the other hand, who knows better than the people what is going on in every labor collective, village, town, and republic, and in the country as a whole?

Do the inspectors [kontrolery] know better? That is not important. It is the people who know everything. The people, therefore, can see in time all that hinders restructuring and is threatening our new policy and the strategy aimed at renewing our society. The people can catch these negative phenomena that are just developing and deal with them in time. So again, they must know and see everything and participate in the social process. How is this to be done? There is no other way than to open all doors for the broad democratization of all spheres of the life of Soviet society. That, comrades, is the whole political design. It is as simple as the truth itself.

In assessing the January plenum, people have been saying -- I think ardently, with conviction, and with satisfaction -- that their expectations have been fulfilled.

I heard the same thing from Comrade Boris Karlovich Pugo, the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of your republic. It also was not a phrase for the sake of fashion. In it is contained the essence of your knowledge, of the opinions in the republic and in the party that the January plenum justified the expectations of our people.

In the Central Committee and in the government we see more and more evidence that the January plenum expressed the thoughts, the will, and the desire of the working people for changes.

True, one and the same question has been put again and again: Will it all not just stop? Again, there was the wish -- not to turn aside or to stop, but to press on along this road. Again, how often I have heard these words since my first trip to Leningrad: Keep right on! Keep right on!

So there is still some worry among people. The party aktiv needs to think about that. If there is a policy that the people have accepted, if there is the broad support of people, what is worrying people? They probably observe the situation, each in his own collective, village, or town. Just think, comrades: This probably means not all -- in our aktiv and our cadres -- have stepped out boldly on the road of restructuring.

I would say that right now it is very important that no rift should appear between what we have proclaimed, between our policy and practical deeds. That would be a disaster. Evidently, we need to keep that very issue -- the unity of word and deed -- constantly in mind, the more so since people have had much bitter experience on that score. One thing has been written and said, but in life something different has occurred: dichotomy. You know, that has perverted our morals. It has had an effect on the mood of the people, on their attitude to social and labor activity. And, comrades, this has exerted a very strong negative influence on the formation of the civic stands of our rising generation. We all must bear this in mind.

It is no less a responsibility of older generations to prepare young people for life, so they become engaged in this process and take the resolution of many tasks upon their shoulders.

We have said that we will consistently go along the path of democratization. As for the Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the government, already we are preparing a series of documents that will provide a legal basis for the course of democratization. The law on enterprises already has been published. It contains everything pertaining to democratization in the sphere of production.

I do not think we could cover everything in this law, but it contains the basis for discussion. I hope all working people, including those from your republic, will think over everything that is expounded there, will support everything that corresponds to our common interests of democratization, and will suggest what has been omitted, probably. We are counting on this.

This year we face the elections to local soviets of people's deputies. We would like, in the course of this preelection campaign, to approve many approaches that later would be incorporated into the new electoral system and that we want to consolidate as a law on the electoral system. That is, we are also outlining specific steps here.

We have talked with Boris Karlovich on this subject, and he made an interesting proposal that the republican party organization, the aktiv, and working people, in supporting on the broadest possible scale these new approaches to elections to the local Soviets of people's deputies, should try them in Latvia -- not just in one rayon, town, or rural soviet, but on a broad scale, perhaps throughout the republic. What do you think? [applause]

Although you welcome it, in this case it is better not to rush. [laughter] I would like to say: Think it over a bit more. I was just sharing my thoughts so we could discuss this topic. Think it over a bit more. We are ready to discuss your proposals with you. Your applause shows that you are in the mood to move firmly and make real progress along this path.

Many questions stemming from the decisions of the 27th congress and the January Central Committee plenum -- I refer here primarily to cardinal, key questions of restructuring -- will be discussed at an all-union CPSU conference, a decision on which will be made at one of the coming party Central Committee plenums. There, I think, we shall discuss everything concerned with improving internal party activity and the life of the CPSU, including the very nature of elections and the formation of elective party organs. In other words, here, too, we will be moving forward. When the time comes, we will consult with all our republican party organizations and with the party aktiv about this without fail.

I am saying this to show that we will not allow any divergence between what we said at the January Central Committee plenum and our practical activity in this area. All of this will be done.

If you noticed, we discussed, for the purposes of further democratization, a number of practical questions that also move this process of democratization forward. I am thinking primarily that we adopted a very important document that creates the juridical basis for the broad development and application of various forms of cooperation in the country in the national economy.

This makes it possible for us to solve many economic issues so far not shouldered for various reasons by our enormous state sector in the economy, which is of crucial significance for the life of society.

The stage now has arrived at which our local bodies -- above all party, local soviet, and economic organizations, and all our cadres -- will participate directly and in a broad and concrete way in all these affairs.

It is right to formulate the issue as follows, and I would like for you to hear and remember this: We in the Central Committee think that we now have arrived at the stage where the more decisively and consistently local bodies pursue the policy of democratization and restructuring, the faster our work in involving the working people in the administration of the affairs of society -- and therefore the entire process of acceleration -- will proceed.

Comrades, the center of gravity is now shifting. The policy exists, the mechanisms have been carefully thought out, and many issues have been resolved. It is now important, through the work of our local party bodies, to link all this with real life and with the labor collectives. I think you understand this well and I think you will agree that this is the case. Such is the specific nature of our present moment. Specific work on the spot now is necessary.

I have to say that many already are acting in this way -- not only thinking, but acting as well. We also have thought carefully about what was said and done at the January plenum. The discussions there were most extensive, lasting 2 days. Nobody can remember an occasion when, although we did not ask or warn anyone, 77 people entered their names as speakers and 34 people delivered speeches.

We recognized collectively, democratically, that we should be winding up the discussion, but for all that it was of a broad-scale, in-depth, and active nature; much was said.

When we were still only considering the results of the January plenum, I read in the paper that elections for first secretary already had taken place in one of the organizations in Kemerovo. What is more, those who took part said it had been a remarkable plenum. A Leninist spirit of openness had indeed reigned when the comrades spoke and when they described each of the candidates -- a rayispolkom chairman and a sovkhoz director. The candidates themselves shared their impressions, describing how it had felt during those hours. That is what is meant by elections, comrades. They both received good support: Out of 49 members -- evidently it was a small raykom -- one received 29 votes and the other 20. The matter was settled democratically, by secret ballot.

Much is being done. This already has been said here: Kristina Ivanovna said that at her enterprise everyone -- or almost everyone, I think -- is elected. I suspect they may well be sneaking up on the director himself, [laughter] but where is the harm in that, comrades?

The point is that we now are so trained politically, through our experience of life in socialist society. We have not just arrived from just anywhere at this stage of restructuring -- disunited, adhering to different ideologies, different values, and political views. We are all generations of the socialist period and our main capital has formed here, so this capital ought to be used. Perhaps this is today the most unique opportunity. The Soviet Union is alone among the world's societies in having such cohesion.

I am not saying this to induce ecstasy in myself or in you. No, I want to note the reality. That is how things are.

Incidentally, you have given a good example. The whole country took part in the competition for the manager of the RAF [Riga Motor] Works and nothing terrible happened. The only difficulty was that they did not want to let him go from Omsk and they demanded talks. [laughter] But that, too, is democratic. Therefore, we must not wait until every single law has been issued. The political line has been determined. We have a law on labor collectives; it is already mapped out, and we must take that path and act.

Why am I an ardent adherent -- before, at, and since the January plenum -- of this line? After all, we seriously want to get our economy moving by means of new mechanisms based on financial autonomy, self-financing, and self-recouping.

What is financial autonomy? Until now, you have fulfilled your norm, and you have been earning -- especially in the countryside -- according to the area worked by your row-crop tractor or some other tractor -- but what that field produces, what harvest you obtain -- that often was not linked with the results of the wage received.

Now that we are transferring our whole economy to financial autonomy and introducing new mechanisms, and moreover for them to then reach the stage of recouping and self-financing, it is not a matter of indifference to the people as to who is in charge of the unit, team, production ship, kolkhoz, or sovkhoz. The people must be sure that the collective is headed by someone who is able, in the conditions created by financial autonomy, to organize the work and solve the tasks in such a way that they deliver the end result and have a positive, rather than a negative effect on the people's income, since on income depend family, a man's position, and material prosperity.

From this point of view we want to organize things in such a way that for a worker everything is tied in with the final result. In that case a worker, a peasant, and a member of the intelligentsia in an institute need to be given the right to elect for themselves leaders on whom they can rely. This, in my view, is a realistic lifelike situation, but if everyone has been included in financial autonomy, they carry around a pig in a poke, and what can be expected of it nobody knows. Then people will say: We don't need financial autonomy yet. That is the situation.

I am speaking of this in such detail -- with great emphasis on this part of my speech, as it were, at this meeting with you -- because today it is very important that our aktiv -- the party, economic and local soviet aktiv, the aktiv of public organizations -- should understand well this task, this thought, the design of the January party central Committee plenum. One must not wait, one must take this road which has been laid down for us by the January Central Committee plenum.

A very important task -- I spoke about it at the Central Committee plenum and Boris Karlovich and other comrade Central Committee members will remember this -- the task facing the party cadres, and now I am saying all cadres, is that of learning to work in conditions of democracy, of the developing and unfolding processes of democracy.

If someone assumes that this will be limited to an appeal, now, after the January plenum, I think it is clear already that this is a real process that will develop in the country. He who has not yet understood this may find himself in a difficult position. I will tell you this: Even our best cadres have by no means all mastered the fact that a new stage in their work has begun.

Yesterday we were at the VEF. [Lenin State Electrical Engineering Plant]

Two workers spoke -- Comrade Gavrilyuk, and I cannot remember the other one.

They were two workers, and very interesting speeches, I tell you. Usually all the representatives do as they used to and round things off a little. The information is a little rosy, so to speak. But these people just got up and talked, calling things by their real names. In the person of the director, Comrade Gavrilyuk said, we have a progressive manager, but you rarely visit the shop floor to talk over points that trouble us. Or before I go to a meeting I hold counsel with my comrades and I no longer go to the meeting with just my own opinion, but with what is troubling my comrades. I speak at the meeting and everything just fades into oblivion. Everything remains as before. The question begs: What was the point of the meeting? Why do you ask: What do you think, comrade workers? Is it just for the sake of form?

This is playing at democracy, but democracy is a serious thing; without it there will be no progress, if we include the people in this manner. But they can try now.

Comrades, criticize us; tell exactly how things are. The people report on everything, then go away, but everything remains as it was. They come to a second meeting and the same old problems remain. At the end of the year and at the election accountability meeting everything is as it was.

That is profanation and a mockery of democracy. That is how it has been, but no longer must it be so, comrades.

The issues that have arisen need to be discussed and resolved. The decisions may be either positive or negative, but they must be made. It needs to be said in public that these questions are being dealt with; those questions have been raised correctly, but for them it is not possible -- we shall resolve them in the future. People should be informed, not simply; It is gone and vanished, and no one knows where.

This most disrespectful attitude toward the people is often shown in this way, comrades. That is precisely formalism and bureaucratism of the very purest kind.

Take a situation in which people come to a meeting with the workers in the context of local soviet work, telling them to put questions and make suggestions. These suggestions are gathered up and taken away, but they are not scrutinized anywhere, either in the buro or the executive committee. No instructions have been given, so nothing is done. Is that supposed to be democracy? It is swindling the people, in the rudest sense. It must be called such in party, Leninist language. It is swindling.

Now that we are unfolding the process of democratization after the January plenum, we must realize that the way we sometimes have acted up until now no longer will suffice.

I can say that a great deal of what was expressed did find reflecton in critical observations and decisions and was resolved in mandates and was monitored. But a great deal, comrades, particularly as far as party meeting and meetings between managers and the working people are concerned, a great deal of what was said vanished into thin air.

Why is it that meetings of workers have lost their role in a considerable number of labor collectives? It is for this very reason: People have stopped going to them. They no longer have any desire to go to these meetings and give their opinions. What is the point?

You and I have to understand all of this. Therefore, I think that the aktiv has to set an exemplary attitude towards the January plenum. This is the important task now.

I ask you, comrades, to think about all of this. Think about how much and to what extent what I have said applies to you. The fact that this kind of thing does exist in the party and in the country is something I can vouch for -- it does exist, and if you are the exception — then so be it!

Already I have had occasion to mention that the restructuring is not of a single moment. It is not, as they say, a cavalry attack, but a long-term policy aimed at profound changes -- genuinely revolutionary changes in our society.

Yes, many now understand this well, both in the party and around the country as a whole.

Indeed, comrades, we are talking; about deep changes in our national economy, about its in-depth modernization on the basis of the achievements of scientific-technical progress. I am taking this topic only to show that it cannot be resolved at a stroke. In order to implement the task of modernizing the economy much needs to be done first, for example, to modernize our Soviet machine-building industry, to ensure its high technical level, and its ability to produce tools and means of production that are in accordance with modern technologies and world standards and that will allow the national economy to move into new technologies and high labor productivity. If we have that kind of machine-building, enormous prospects will be opened up for the national economy, but it means that we now must modernize machine-building in the first place; then machine-building must provide the equipment for the whole national economy. We must modernize the entire national economy.

I think that you are all down-to-earth people who know life and you are well aware that it is easy to sepak from a rostrum and to write articles but when it comes down to it, this process is not an easy one to move from beginning to end, as it were. That means it will take time.

It is not enough just to make great efforts. The new nature of the tasks demands new approaches, the use of all of our scientific and intellectual potential and, quite simply, requires capital investment. Time is needed, as well.

We must implement in practice our new social policy and therefore we seek extra resources, but this is no simple task, either. You know that in 1986 we increased our housing. We put in over 5 million square meters of extra housing, but we did not fulfill the plan for using up the funds allocated for housing construction. We did not fulfill the plan for construction of schools, hospitals, preschool institutions, and cultural projects. They received the money, but did not fulfill the plan. Why? The construction base is weak, so it is necessary to increase the construction might of our country and of the construction organizations, to introduce economic [khozpodryad] contracting and everything that works toward it, to draw the people to participate actively.

For our social program is going to choke. It may be that all the capital resources will be allocated, but that a great deal will remain unassimilated. Then we will not get what we were counting on. So now, comrades, it is not enough to elicit the funds: There have been many specialists (?asking for funds). It is necessary now to get things going. There is something here to reflect on, both in the country and, I have to say, in Latvia. We have spoken about this. If we now -- there was the question raised here by Comrade Klaucens and we discussed it yesterday with the leadership of the republic, the question of the rapid aging of the housing stock in certain towns in the republic, which needs studying and looking into in order to find out how to approach it and solve it -- but if we gave you all that right now, you would not cope, because first and foremost the capacities of the construction base must be developed. All that has to be reflected upon, reflected upon. [repeats himself] Again, time is needed.

Clearly, objectively, and realistically reviewing the situation, the hardest years for us will be this one and the next two. We need to be quite clear on this, everyone in the country. And understanding this, each must try in his own place -- I mean the worker at his lathe, the peasant on his farm and in the field, the scientist and expert in the design bureau and the laboratory, the economic cadres in their posts, the party and local soviet bodies -- to do all of which they are capable to advance the restructuring and to give even more than we are expecting.

This is why, comrades, in concluding this theme, I would like to get the following thought across to you, to the working people of Latvia, and to the working people of the whole country: We must be honest to our people. We are inviting the Soviet people to a very difficult task, but it is of utmost importance to us all. I have asked in many places including the Central Committee whether somebody has another alternative, other proposals apart from restructuring and acceleration -- propose them. There are no other proposals.

This way is the only right one, and one should go along this way, but it requires enormous efforts, particularly in the initial stage. The more vigorously we set off, the more decisively we act during this initial stage, the shorter the time we take to resolve the problems that have been posed to us by life itself -- the sooner we will see the returns. There will certainly be results. Why do I mention this comrades? I am in fact now coming to the main point, although I may have taken too long about it.

We in the CPSU Central Committee have been receiving information that voices can be heard, and the following opinions are being voiced in some places: Everybody is calling for restructuring, a lot of fuss is being made about restructuring, but what has it produced, what is it producing, this restructuring? Probably, you have even heard such questions. These opinions are being voiced not only by those unmasked by restructuring, as the saying goes, those who have had their toes stepped on and whose true colors have been shown, but also by those who are for restructuring and are prepared to participate in it, and are already participating in it, and there is no doubt of their position.

Many people have developed the desire to immediately obtain from restructuring everything they would like, but we have just begun restructuring. It would be a great simplificaton if we perceived restructuring like this.

I do not want to get involved in a major polemic over this question although this theme does require fundamental development for the benefit of the working people.

For the moment, I would like to say this: First, I cannot agree that restructuring has not produced results. Incidentally, I have asked this question especially, now I'll ask you in the aktiv. What do the working people think? I have asked this question everywhere: What, after all, do you think? What has restructuring already produced? Indeed restructuring has already produced a lot and the people are convinced of this.

Indeed, in a short period of time we prepared a congress that proposed program policies, both internal and foreign policies, which were in the interests of the people. We have undertaken measures to strengthen discipline and order in the country, measures to combat drunkenness and alcoholism, negative phenomena and violations of the law, measures to encourage openness in society and to improve the atmosphere in society. Finally, we have very seriously started work on beginning the real management and administration. All of this is of no little importance. It is of great, long-term significance. In any event, without what has already been done in this short time wihtout these prerequisites -- political, organizational, economic, juridical, and ideological -- we would hardly be in a position today to move on to adopting the cardinal measures that were discussed at the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum.

I have spoken about the results of the 5-year plan -- you heard it. That is what restructuring has produced. The main thing is that the human factor has been set in moption and people's attitudes have changed.

For, over that period, the economy and its technical level and technology did not change much, but there was an increase, and movement occurred. That is how our people responded to restructuring. This is politically very important.

It is another matter -- and I, together with the whole politburo and the government, agree completely with this -- that we really have still only just begun, in essence, tackling in practice the tasks of restructuring and that all our work lies ahead.

We will not, comrades, look at restructuring from purely consumer positions. I want to say this frankly. We will not measure its significance by present-moment benefits. When talking about restructuring, let us think about our society, about our people's feelings regarding society, and about how to speed up our passage through the difficult years of the 12th 5-year period.

Let us not only think, but also act in that same spirit. Then our movement might acquire a dynamic nature, which means that there will be results in all spheres of life, including the socioeconomic sphere as well. I think everyone needs such an understanding of the present time in which we live.

Talking about all this, I noted at the plenum, and would like to mention once again that we, of course, must conduct the restructuring in such a way as to, even now, in the present circumstances and with present opportunities, improve the situation in all areas of the life of our people. This will not, however, be manna from heaven, but the fruits of our work in fulfilling the plans of the 12th 5-year period. If the plans are fulfilled, the social program as set out for the 12th 5-Year Plan will be implemented as well. I think that this minimum that we set as the targets of the 12th 5-Year Plan period, and everything that concerns man, we must achieve by working on the task of restructuring our society.

In this connection I have to say that the politburo and the government have discussed very thoroughly the results for 1986 and for January of the 2d year of the 5-year period. What troubles us most of all? This has something in common with what the comrades spoke about here. So far, it seems comrades, the national economy has not as yet gained the necessary tempo, not acquired stability. On one hand, we seem to have gotten moving, the pace has quickened, but on the other, the slightest disruption, the slightest difficulty, and our economy loses ground again. Disruptions in the work of enterprises, connected with a lack of rhythm, with disruptions of contracted supplies, have led to an exacerbation of the material-technical supplies, and intensified the inbalance in the national economy.

On the one hand, many have relaxed, have become placid following the results of 1986, on the other, not everybody really prepared for the winter. Others were not prepared for the State Acceptance Service. I would say that the disruptions in the metallurgical industry have really bound our economy, particularly the machine-building industry. The plan was fulfilled, but for the range of goods it was not fulfilled. In the chemical industry, which produces component items for all goods in the country; the bearing manufacturing industry; and the electronics industry it was the disruptions to the contracted supplies by these sectors that undermined our material and technical supply system and introduced disorganization, and this had its effect.

Therefore, we have to look at the January results in this manner: Not to think of the overall plan at any price, but to look at the bottlenecks. They exist in every republic, in every industry. It is on them that we must bring all our weight to bear. That is the task that we in the Politburo and the government have set the economic sectors, the republics, and the local bodies.

Comrades, now in our labor collectives many problems are occuring -- vital, concrete ones, affecting general interests and those of individual workers. They are especially connected with switching over to the new methods of economic management. I do no think that everything that has been put forward in the documents adopted on these issues is faultless. It is difficult to foresee everything that happens in life. Mainly, these are documents that open up opportunities for active work, for the necessary approaches, but it is necessary to look and introduce corrections where mistakes have been made.

Therefore, we hope, that in the areas where something goes wrong for you, it will not bring you to a state of panic. On the countrary, it must give a spur to reflection, for proposals on how to improve things.

We are hoping for such an approach. We do not have any ready-made solutions. We have carried out experiments. We have taken up some things, we have understood the posititive points and the negative ones, and we have set them out in our new documents. I wanted to say this to you and I ask you to bear it in mind for now.

Many of our directives concerning the economy and the social and ideological spheres are being tested by life itself. Therefore, look at your work once again.

Generally speaking, Latvia's prestige from the point of view of its contribution to the country's national economy complex is good, it is high, it has a good reputation. But if I were to say just that, failing to say that in recent years its prestige has slipped somewhat then I would not be telling the truth. You must know this.

In the Baltic republics we have developed a fairly substantial machine-building complex, and in your republic, too, this is a leading branch of industry. But if I were to ask the question: Is everything going well in this respect here in your republic, then I would have to answer that it is not. I would have to say that it isn't.

First of all, the modernization of machine-building enterprises and the renewal of assets is going slowly in your republic.

Boris Karlovich has mentioned this, and this shows that you feel this yourselves, but it is not enough to feel it; these issues must be raised and resolved with the head quarters of the industries and with Gosplan. Attention must be paid to this, because the whole of the country's machine-building industry at the moment is affected by profound reconstruction. And this has to be done in such a way that you, who have set the example for many years, do not find yourselves in a worse situation or in a difficult situation. That's the first thing.

Production of output that is already obsolete continues at many enterprises. Of course, this is no good to anyone. And the country has already felt that. The Riga streetcar construction works, which is known throughout the country, produces an obsolete kind of streetcar. In comparison with foreign counterparts it is inferior in comfort, in speed and capacity, and it has more vibration.

All this gives rise to censure from the passengers. So when the streetcar-builders are having a bad morning let them think that this is someone in Irkutsk or some such place travelling in a streetcar. [chuckles] You must understand that this product is needed by the whole country, it affects the people, the working people of the country. And you have to organize your work in developing this works in accordance with this.

I would like to say exactly the same thing about the RAF works. We must remind the collective that it has not kept its word on the modernization of the passenger bus.

We have somehow become accustomed to the idea that great attention is paid to the quality of consumer goods in the Republic of Latvia. Today, too, your consumer goods maintain their reputation in the country. But, as a check on enterprises demonstrated last year, here, too, there are serious instances of slackening. The dispatch of finished goods to the consumers was forbidden 450 times by organs of the USSR State Committee for Standards and economic sanctions were applied 185 times. These enterprises included such works as the Diesel Construction Works, the Lighting Equipment Works, Rigaselmash, the Radioteknika Production Association, and Latbytkhim [Latvia Domestic Chemicals] -- all major enterprises.

I have been informed that many issues pertaining to technical progress and the quality of output already have been resolved, and that others are being resolved at present.

If all that is so, well and good; however, I think it's too soon to say that you have taken radical measures. That is now the purpose of tasks. It brings in the whole complex of problems embracing scientific-technical progress, technics and technology, the qualification of cadres, and incentives. Incentives must be such as to promote high-quality production. Here we must decide many things, and not put our trust in just a few questions of detail.

The Baltic region is an important producer of foodstuffs. Many kolkhozes and sovkhozes have achieved splendid results. Today, too, Boris Karlovich has spoken of progress in this area, and how for the second year in a row, there are no farms in the red. Yesterday, I had an opportunity to visit your good arm Adazhi, which is of interest not only from the point of view of the standards of farm management there and the modern approach, I would say, to this type of agro-business, but also from the point of view of solving social issues. It made a very strong impression upon me. I understand of course that it is one of the best farms. Undoubtedly there are other farms like the ones you have spoken about today. But I must say that the Baltic republics have been the first to try out many interesting initiatives that have then spread throughout the country. They are initiatives in the introduction of economic methods of management, the assimilation of genuine relations of financial autonomy, the integration of production, the processing of the produce of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, and the social reconstruction of the countryside. This is experience which has received all-union support and approval, and that is good. But now, during this conversation with you, I would ask you to set about an analysis of your achievements from different standpoints. From the standpoint of how to utilize the potential that has been created in the agro-industrial complex of the republic so that you get a full return from it.

Obviously you know, comrades, that the kolkhozes and sovkhozes of the republic, in terms of how well equipped they are, significantly exceed the figures of other republics. Moreover, it is not by just a few percentage points, but several times over, several times over. The farms of Latvia receive 1 1/2 or 2 times more mineral fertilizers per hectare.

The cadre potential in the agro-industrial complex -- and this can be marked down to the republican bodies -- has been made good and reliable.

Now, if we set about analyzing your achievements in the agro-industrial complex, taking into account the level and the quality of the material technical base in the sector then certain critical assessments arise. In our opinion, you have a very weak effort in the grain production. IN terms of the yield of grain crops you have, in essence, been marking time for many years. In the past 5 years it simply has not risen above 27 quintals. This means that the state needs to deliver grain to the republic in increasing quantities. In the 10th 5-year plan period an average of 1.35 million metric tons was so delivered; in the 11th 1.43 million tons, and in individual years up to 1.5 tonnes. This tendency can scarcely be seen as normal and well-founded. You could grow more feed. We need to set you that task. You need to set about solving this in the coming years.

There is something else I would like to say. In the given instance, I want to touch on the sector of animal husbandry. I have been given the figures for the consumption of coarse, succulent, and concentrated feeds in the republic's animal husbandry. I saw them yesterday at the exhibition, the day before yesterday [corrects himself]. They, too, provide evidence of negative trends. That cannot be left unattended to, and I think, I imagine, that that should trouble you. The one thing is that the share of rough and succulent feed in animal husbandry is continuing to fall, and the proportion of concentrates to grow. Given your locality, that is unacceptable, and it is not right. These are also specific tasks, the solution of which must not be put off.

Yet another observation: Latvia used to occupy the leading place in the region for animal husbandry.

But now many of your indicators are lower than those of your neighbors. What am I referring to? Well, last year 560 kg less milk per cow was achieved on the kolkhozes and sovkhozes of the republic than in Estonia and 104 kg less than in Lithuania.

Overall, this is my assessment: I think that for you, more than for other regions, conditions have ripened for consistent and total application of economic management methods in all industries, in the agro-industrial complex, and for ensuring conditions necessary both for increasing output of agricultural produce and for improving its efficiency.

Generally speaking, I would like to address these wishes to all the agricultural working people of the entire Baltic area as well. Comrades, when we talk about changes, about restructuring all areas of life in society, we always stress that we do not mean some sort of cosmetic measures, but the deep-seated processes of our society. Here, it must be said that all this places our party organs into new conditions for their work. Moreover, we in the party Central Committee adhere to this kind of approach: Everything that we have started following the 27th congress and following the April Central Committee plenum in order to restructure our society, to renew it, has to be initiated within the party itself, with cadres' work. I am content that this topic was presented seriously in Boris Karlovich's speech here; during our conversations these last few days it has been present constantly. I feel that the party Central Committee does understand the need to augment work, that there has to be fundamental thinking done on refining style and methods, primarily on the level of reinforcing ideological work in the labor collectives and organizational work directly in the labor collectives. There should be fewer office meetings, fewer exclamations, less admiration and more work, work.

That is the slogan of the day. All workers in the party, local soviet, and economic apparatus must be decisively encouraged to turn to practical matters, and, as far as possible, to put an end to paperwork.

The problem of cadres' responsibilty is now acquiring specific repercussions. We must measure everything in terms of restructuring: What is the person's attitude to restructuring, what contribution is he making to the business of restructuring, how is he restructuring his methods and style of work, taking into account the democratization of society? These are all very important problems. Therefore we must all understand this and act in this spirit.

I would like to conclude this meeting with you, comrades, on this businesslike note. I think that all our meetings, both those that I will have and those that you will have, after the January plenum should be more and more directed at deeds. At deeds. At an examination of specific deeds, specific tasks. At resolving issues that restructuring has come up against. Now, a businesslike attitude, based on the tasks of the January plenum, should become the determining feature of activity both of the party Central Committee and the government, and of the republican bodies, of the party organization, of the cadres, of all our echelons. Permit me again to express my great satisfaction over the meetings and conversations that we have held here, on Latvian soil, and to wish you all the best at this important stage in the development of our society. [prolonged applause]

Good-bye. [applause continues] What message shall I take from you to Estonia? [laughter; unidentified voices: Convey our greetings! We're not going to lag behind! We're going to compete!]

Thank you. Good-bye, comrades. I wish you all the best. I hope we'll meet together again -- the first step is always the hardest! [unidentified voice: Thank you very much, Mikhail Sergeyevich, for a meeting that was very necessary for us and for a discussion rich in content. We want on behalf of the entire aktiv and on behalf of all the working people of our republic to pledge to work even harder, more seriously, in order to ensure that restructuring advances more actively in our republic.] Good. [further prolonged applause]

Riga Departure

LD191305 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 19 Feb 87

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has just left the capital of Soviet Latvia for Tallinn. He was seen off at the airport by Pugo, first secretary of the Central Commitee of the Communist Party of Latvia; Vagris, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium of the Latvian SSR; Ruben, chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers; and members of the Central Committee bureau of the Communist Party of Latvia.

Talks With Tallinn Citizens

LD200010 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 19 Feb 87

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, today arrived in Tallinn from Riga. At the airport he was met by Comrade Vayno, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee; Comrade Ryuytel, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium of the Estonian SSR; and Comrade Saul, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Estonian SSR. Here is our correspondent (Enne Hijom).

[Hijom] Today the capital of Soviet Estonia welcomes its visitor. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has arrived here. He has already stopped on the way and talked with the people of Tallinn. He has been to the Vladmir Ilich Lenin monument, where he laid flowers. At the group of monuments on the shore of the Gulf of Tallinn, thousands of people of Tallinn gathered to greet the visitor. Maar Jamaegi is the name of the high plateau to commemorate those who fought for Soviet power in Estonia. From here in 1918 the Baltic fleet left through the ice-bound sea to Kronshtadt. In 1941 our naval ships sailed from here, leaving Tallinn which had been surrounded. The lines of the memorial are severe and solemn. An eternal flame burns in upturned hands sculpted in stone. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev laid a basket of red carnations at the eternal flame. And here at the memorial there was also a conversation with the people of Tallinn.

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] At this place one is always immediately gripped by memories, one goes back in time. And at times like this one can perhaps see more clearly everything we all now have together. We have all had a difficult and long road into the present. This is my first visit to Estonia, and I want to get to know it better, to meet people and to talk to them. The first thing I want to do, of course, is together with you to pay homage to all Soviet people, the people of Estonia and all the others who laid down their lives here in order to make things what they are today.

[Unidentified male] Mikhail Sergeyevich, it is very nice that you always talk with the people.

[Gorbachev] I believe that much took place in our country which we now have to rectify and rid ourselves of, and it occurred because we were not always attentive to what people had to say, we did not seek their advice. I do not mean to say that our country is one where everything came to a halt, so to speak. No, it moved on, the country did go on. And this is because our people carried the country on their shoulders, in spite of everything. But the way things were going in the last few years -- it worried and alarmed all of us.

After all, we have to look the real truth in the face. It was impossible to build plans for the future without understanding all this -- that is why it is as it is. And, so that plans do not remain just plans and so that what we have observed is not repeated, it is necessary to get closer to people and to include people more actively in all processes: at the grass roots and at the republican level, and in Moscow, and in Moscow. That's the main thing -- it's all very simple. Without people no policy is put into practice; it is dead. And people know and see everything; and, if they are brought in and helped to open and create such an atmosphere, then what once happened in our country will not be repeated. That's the whole philosophy -- it's simple, very simple. It can be expressed in two words, although people have to make long speeches. I don't know whether you read [word indistinct]

[Laughing voices] Yes, we do.

[Gorbachev] We must talk by this flame [the flame at the memorial where the conversation is taking place] about the fact that the flame must burn and flare up to become a fire. I have already spoken in three places, and, you know, I like your mood very much. Personally, I believe deeply in what we have begun, I believe deeply. If I were told that we must now stop restructuring -- it is said -- then, in the first place, I would never agree to that, and I do not want to link myself with any other policy. Therefore, for me there is no other course; and for the comrades who work with me in the Politburo and the government, they have also made the same choice, it is our common position, our common line. There is no other course for them. And that which we sense everywhere that I happen to visit -- and it is growing constantly with every month -- and the fact that people are understanding more and more deeply the meaning of restructuring and are entering into it more and more, produces in me the deep belief that we shall see this undertaking which we have started -- a huge and most difficult one -- through, we shall see it through to the end. That is the whole essence of the matter. I ask you also to go forward without hesitation, forward, forward, there will be difficulties, there will even be mistakes -- but don't panic, don't panic. For 2 or 3 years it really will be very difficult. But stand firm! [laughter, applause, and unidentified voice] We'll see it through to the end. [end recording]

[Hijom] Now we are on Town Hall Square, Raekoja Platz. It is the center of the old town, and here is the old town hall building where the town always receives its guests of honor. Today thousands of Tallinners are here. Now Mikhail Sergeyevich and the comrades accompanying him have arrived at the center of the square. They are immediately surrounded by people.

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] Good day! Well let's shake hands in order to [words indistinct] I am glad that at last the plans I have had for a long time have come to be. I am glad to meet you. Thank you for the meeting, for your attention. What would you like to tell me?

[Unidentified female] Good Health, good health!

[Gorbachev] Thank you!

[Unidentified female] Thank you for everything you have done! Very good!

[Unidentified male] Continue in the same way!

[Gorbachev] We will continue. But together, we will continue together. What we have started cannot be managed by any one of us individually, even the most powerful person. It has to be done by all of us together.

The housing question is worrying us and, together with food, we regard this as question number one. We will do something about this and we have even taken for this 5-Year Plan-period what we had previously allocated and written into the plan for the development of production, we have taken 10 percent of capital investments -- this is many billions in this respect -- and we are channelling this additionally toward what we have planned for housing. We will increase the allocations. We are restructuring the whole of the country, the whole of the country. Well, there is no other way. The housing question is one we understand.

This is the big question. The food question has been solved in Estonia but the housing question hasn't. [laughter] But for the country as a whole the food question still remains. But it is a serious question, a serious question. We will work on it.

[Unidentified male] Is it correct that three-shift working (?will be organized)?

[Gorbachev] Where new machines exist, which are used only on two shifts this is incorrect. Therefore for an evening shift we will pay an additional 20 percent in order to get it right and an additional 30 or 40 for a third shift, for a night shift, in order to provide incentives. After all, this is a heavier commitment. But this needs to be done in an organized manner in each town so that transport is maintained, so that children's preschool institutions and consumer services are provided, so that all this should be taken into account, so there is no need to get excited here. One needs to think everything over thoroughly. Throughout the world everyone is using new machines over three shifts and in the FRG even over four shifts, because the new machines turn out better output, have a higher productivity, and so forth. And what is old needs to be thrown out and replaced by new equipment. This, in fact, is what we have done. Also, we will release the money saved on reconstruction for housing. We are not taking it away. Not a single ministry has the right to take this away. Everything is left to the enterprise of the town. Thus, Leningrad released R100 million for itself and channeled it into housing.

This is the first time I have been in Estonia and I am very glad to be here. [end recording]

[Hijom] The town hall is the main building of our city, a ceremonial building. This is a special hall for receiving guests of honor. Meeting Mikhail Sergeyevich here today are veterans and old residents of the city, and well-known people from Tallinn. Among them are party veterans (Hendrik Allik) and (Alma Varmand). Everybody in Tallinn knows them -- they are very well-respected people. (Endel Busep), Hero of the Soviet Union, former airman and now leader of the peace movement, is here as well as (Arnold Meri), hero of the Soviet Union -- he was the first Estonian to be named Hero the Soviet Union and the first postwar secretary of the Central Committee of the Estonian Komsomol.

[Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1800 GMT on 19 February, as part of its "Vremya" newscast, carries a report on CPSU General Secretary Gorbachev's meeting with veterans at the Tallinn Town Hall. The video shows three limousines drawing up in a city square. Gorbachev gets out and waves to the crowd on the other side of the street. Gorbachev is shown touring architectural monuments and the town hall. Next, he is shown conversing with a crowd of people:

[Gorbachev] Good day. The plans that I have had for a long time have come true. I am glad to meet you. Thank you for the meeting, for the attention. Are you in a good mood? Are you not a bit cold?

[Women] We are a bit cold. (laughter)

[Gorbachev] Yes. Thank you for the meeting.

[Indistinct shouting from the crowd]

[Next, the video shows Gorbachev entering the town hall and being introduced to a group of elderly people. An official introduces them to Gorbachev, saying: This man has been a party member since March 1917.

[(Gorbachev) There are few members of such long standing left.]

[Unidentified male] We have a very rich Party organization.

[Gorbachev] How many of you are there?

[Unidentified male] There are four of us like that. [laughter]

[Gorbachev] We are very happy to see you all. After all, the views of veterans are very important for us.

I asked you a question and you ar (?not answering it).

[Unidentified male] I am, all the same, a little older than you in years and can ask you a question. What you have planned is very good. What do you yourself think? Do you at the top have enough strength?

[Gorbachev] You know, this is what everyone in Latvia was talking about. I think that we, all the same, consulting with all the republics, with scientists, with our intelligentsia, with workers and peasants...we have somehow, all the same, felt our way to the main guidelines. That is the policy which we proposed to the congress. It was approved at the congress, which is important, but it has also received understanding and support (?as you know) from society. And, of course, to allow once again a repetition of the old events would mean disappointment for many years to come. So it turns out that in order to stop the restructuring from dying out, from suffocating, and from remaining a piece of paper, from turning into a simple piece of paper it is essential to involve people in everything through the economic mechanism and through democracy.

[Moscow Television Service version reads:

[(Gorbachev) You know, this is what everyone in Latvia was talking about. There was the April plenum, were we estimated overall what the country needed. We then got the first outline, as it were, of out policy, which we then submitted for final elaboration. In the year following the April plenum we tried to prepare the program in time for the congress, and we prepared the 12th 5-Year Plan already taking into account acceleration and restructuring. Now this policy must pass into society, into the labor collectives, into the official departments, into the work of the party bodies, and so on. The policy exists, and the people support it, so what is needed are the mechanisms. What are these mechanisms? They must, of course, be brought into operation. That is how the Plenum appeared. Its design was primarily to open up the path for the people to take part in all affairs, and second for our cadres. So I think that after the January plenum -- and while we were preparing it we covered a many issues and thought a lot of things through, and we have done the same since the plenum -- now that the whole of society is in motion, I think we can now say boldly that we will march along the path of the January plenum. We will overcome. As far as we are concerned, I assure you that the present leadership will not flinch, will not flinch (repeats himself)]

[(Unidentified male) You have enough strength?

[(Gorbachev) Yes, we do.

[(Unidentified male) We have had a good talk today. It will be a good thing if it is followed by good action, will it not?

[(Gorbachev) Undoubtedly. You know, the veterans are people who never get old in their hearts! (laughter)]

[Gorbachev] I have to say, in general, that Estonia enjoys a good reputation in the country. I know that you love your land and do a great deal. The soil here is not so, as they say, luxuriant, but they know how to work and the results are good.

[Unidentified male] Yes.

[Gorbachev] But there is no other way; as they say, the traveller will master the road.

[Unidentified male] Yes, correct.

[Gorbachev] We have to travel along the road.

[Unidentified male] In for a penny...

[Gorbachev -- interrupting] ...for a penny, in for a pound. [laughter] [end recording]

[Studio announcer] Our correspondent Luydmila Semina reports.

[Semina] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev today visited the Tallinn Knitted-Goods Association Marat. It was set up in 1940 on the basis of nationalized small enterprises, right after Soviet power was established in Estonia. Today the Marat produces daily over 18,000 knitted suits and dresses and over 60,000 items of knitted underwear. It is a large enterprise. Every year the association updates half of its production range, which is also quite a good figure for the light industry. Starting from this year, the Tallinn Marat association has changed to the new conditions of management; there are now charts hanging in enterprises, with precise and clear calculations showing how one has to work to live well, i.e. how both to renovate the production and to improve the social conditions of toilers. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev walked about the Marat departments.

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] What would you say, do you know how your output is evaluated by the population?

[Unidentified female] It sells well, people buy it readily. The population is satisfied, even shop assistants themselves are very happy about it.

[Gorbachev] Is it often that you have to change to producing new models, to change the range of goods?

[Same female] Now, yes. Now we are changing to new models, fairly interesting ones. Of course, this requires a lot of work.

[Gorbachev] Women do not all want to look alike.

[Same female] Yes.

[Gorbachev] Even men have started to be trendy now.

[Same female] Yes, we would like our people to walk around nicely dressed.

[Gorbachev] Your output enjoys a fair reputation, and thank you for that. It enjoys such a reputation today, but may not enjoy it tomorrow unless you think about it all the time.

[Same female] We will do our best.

[Gorbachev] This is not only a matter for your director. A director, artist or designer may think things up, but they then come to workers who say: It is a difficult technology, let us keep away from it. Yet now we have decided like this, you know: an enterprise has to produce what the retail system takes. If it does not take it -- that is that. This is, probably, right, isn't it? If it is lying around inside the retail system -- what is all this enormous strenuous work here for? To use up materials, to use up everything, only for it to lie around. I will tell you frankly, we have had a great deal lying around, and there still are enterprises which are working and all their output is sent directly to storage. It will not do. We are now putting all this right, especially in the area of consumer goods. Of course, taking into account the fact that work in our light industry is strenuous and multishift -- women are mainly employed here, the only men are adjusters, as they are here too, as I can see -- we will be implementing a large program for reconstructing light industry enterprises. I have said we will, but it is already being carried out. On the other floor where we were walking -- the lower floor, wasn't it? -- there are already high-performance machines side by side with somewhat lower-performance machines, and now another new-model machine will be tested. We have now in fact even requested the defense industry to manufacture equipment for the light and food industry. We will be constantly thinking how to facilitate things. There are machines that can facilitate things considerably, indeed. And we will go for purchasing licences and we will enlist our own design forces -- we will be solving the task of upgrading the technical level. And the main thing is that there must be such machines that are capable of producing modern goods, because if one relies only on man and on his attention all the time, then the quality often begins to fail. One needs a machine that will be of help to man. On the whole, though, one can see from your faces... [laughs]

[General laughter]

[Gorbachev -- continuing] And at your enterprise, I can sense the workload is heavy. I know that the heaviest workloads we have are in our light industry; they are not easy workloads. Thank you for your work and we will be expecting new ranges of goods. [applause]

Tours Knitwear Factory

LD210205 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 19 Feb 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Unidentified correspondent] The general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee began his familiarization with the republic's industry at the head enterprise of the Marat knitwear production association in Tallinn. [video cuts to show Gorbachev, standing with Raisa Gorbacheva and his entourage, talking with a group of women outside the plant.]

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] They say you've got new equipment now. [contradictory voices from the group] You don't have enough? [indistinct interchange between numerous voices in the crowd and Gorbachev. Raisa Gorbacheva enters the conversation with women in the crowd, asking about knitted sweaters.] We have a big interest in all these enterprises being good, producing good output and having good working conditions. After all, it's mostly women working here, isn't it?

[Women in crowd] Yes, of course it is. Women, yes.

[Gorbachev] And that is why we have a big program now for the reconstruction of enterprises in the country's clothing industry. We want to involve our industry, and we are now signing contracts with the socialist countries to carry out modernization, and we are signing contracts with the Western countries. Yes, yes, we have to work seriously on light industry. [end recording]

Moscow Radio Version

LD191720 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 19 Feb 87

[Report from Tallinn by correspondent Lyudmilla Semina]

[Text] The Estonian capital is warm and glad in its welcome for Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. Talliners have arrived with flowers and placards; boys and girls are in their national costumes.

The first stop is at the Estonian Red Riflemen's Square in the center of the city, between Lenin and Estonian boulevards. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's motorcade has just now arrived here with the comrades accompanying him. There are an awful lot of people here; the national brass band is playing. Mikhail Sergeyevich lays flowers at the Lenin Monument. Right ahead is the building of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee and on the right is the new building of the House of Political Enlightment. Tomorrow the 20th congress of the Estonian Komsomol is opening there.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev speaks to the citizens of the city.

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] Let me congratulate you on your congress!

[Unidentified female] Come to our congress!

[Gorbachev] the Komsomol is my (?weakness). I have long been in the Komsomol. Yes, it would interesting if I could come.

[Unidentified male] I know how it is with your schedule.

[Gorbachev] Do you know friends, what we are doing -- let me speak straight -- it is for you most of all. The older generation will have 5 years, thereabouts, others 10 or 15, of work and labor; but they will pass on of course, that is life. But for you, in 5, 10 or 15 years -- you will have to shoulder the burden for the country. This a matter of honor but also a great responsibility. And so you can take over the job worthily. You have to know how to do much; you have to be well prepared in many respects, -- but I think the main thing is to be convinced and strong in spirit. Good! Let me wish you a good congress. Do not forget the spirit of democracy and openness, let everything be good and militant. You have to push the secretary a bit. [laughter] And he has to push you! Then things will get going. We need your support; (?why conceal this)?

If it were only necessary to write resolutions and to deliver speeches, then this can be said at the top and that's that, but to really restructure the country, to really change the country for the better, and to change the atmosphere, and attitudes to each other, and morale, so that everything is just, everywhere, and how it should be -- for this everyone must participate. It is from here that democracy has come and the call for democracy. Everything here is simple. We've come at a good time. A light snow is falling. Is it this, your good, your favorite, weather? In the winter?

[Background voices] Yes, skiing weather.

[Gorbachev] It's frosty. There's a light snow. That's good. One immediately feels a difference between Riga and here. You have more snow. There will be a bigger harvest.

[Unidentified male] We'll produce more for the plan.

[Gorbachev] I've already said that Estonia has a good reputation and first and foremost I know that you love your land and Estonians (?love) to work. But it does not mean that as a whole you do not all need to restructure. [laughter]

The tasks are bigger. The tasks are new, and therefore everyone all the same will have to advance, to move forward, and this should be particularly to the Komsomol's liking, because for them their whole life is ahead. Restructuring is namely for them.

[Unidentified male] The people will of course do everything possible.

[Gorbachev] All the same, for the restructuring we will not bring in people either to Estonia, or from elsewhere, or to the Soviet Union. We must restructure ourselves. They must restructure both in Moscow and in Estonia and in Latvia and in Siberia and everywhere. Those self-same people will restructure, and I believe in our people. The situation often determines the behavior of a person (?at his) post. I do not think that our Soviet people, that this should suit them -- injustice, double standards, these deviations and violations. Generally speaking everybody is fed up with this, and everyone finds this unacceptable -- a signficant section. Some, as they say, have hit a vein, dishonestly, and obtained some kind of incomes and find themselves in pocket and happy.

Such an individual doesn't need restructuring. But we should not orient ourselves on him, not on him. We must orient ourselves on the working people. I have in mind workers, peasants, young people, veterans. And we must put forward new people while those who wheel and deal, you know, we must put them in their place. They won't get anywhere. Society and public opinion are an enormous force, an enormous force. [end recording]

Attends Concert

LD210128 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 19 Feb 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] In the afternoon, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev visited the concert hall of the Estonian SSR State Philharmonia, where a concert of republican masters of art took place. [video shows Gorbachev and Raisa Gorbacheva standing by their seats in the concert hall and applauding as the audience stands and applauds them: shots of Gorbachev and entourage seated in the balcony as a choir sings.]

GORBACHEV GREETS PUBLISHERS OF PEACE ANTHOLOGY

PM241506 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 Feb 87 p 1

[Message from M. Gorbachev to editorial collegium of the book "Europe on the Threshold of the Third Millenium"; first three paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] LITERATURNAYA GAZETA has already written about the publication of the book "Europe on the Threshold of the Third Millenium. First Issue. The Book of Peace" ["Yevropa na Poroge III Tysyacheletiya. Vypusk Pervyy. Kniga Mira"], and its wide success.

Both Soviet and West German writers, scientists, and public figures are represented in the book. The book was issued on the initiative of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation and the Rhine-Westphalia Foreign Society in Dortmund (FRG), in Russian and German simultaneously.

The joint editorial collegium sent the first issue of the book to M.S. Gorbachev, and during the Moscow forum "For a Nuclear-Free World, for the Survival of Humanity," it received the letter we publish today.

[Gorbachev letter] To the joint editorial collegium of the book "Europe on the Threshold of the Third Millenium."

Esteemed gentlemen, Comrades!

I have studied the remarkable book "Europe on the Threshold of the Third Millenium," which you presented to me.

It is noteworthy that writers, scientists, politicians, and public figures from two countries, the USSR and the FRG, unanimously and with conviction defend the most important, fundamental, sacred values of mankind today: peace, nature, and man.

A frank and open dialogue takes place in the book on these questions, and a dispute on the most fruitful ways of tackling the questions. That is only natural. After all, the book was created by representatives of the intelligentsia of two countries with different social systems, and moreover, countries that fought against each other in the most merciless and destructive of all wars.

I am not in favor of ignoring differences and contradictions and smoothing over sharp corners. I am in favor of correctly understanding the hierarchy of values, the priorities of tasks, and of thinking above all about what unites individuals, peoples belonging to the same human race in their desire for a nuclear-free and nonviolent peace on earth. That is the value of your joint activity.

I wish you successes in continuing work on new issues of the book with such a stirring and expressive title!

M. Gorbachev

PASTERNAK REINSTATED IN USSR WRITERS UNION

LD231242 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1225 GMT 23 Feb 87

[Text] Moscow, 23 Feb (TASS) -- The Secretariat of the USSR Writers Union has revoked the decision adopted 30 years ago excluding Boris Pasternak (1890-1960) from the Writers Union. This was announced by Feliks Kuznetsov, first secretary of the board of the Moscow writers organization, speaking at a plenum of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom. His speech will be published today in MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA.

BIOGRAPHY OF I.P. SMORODIN, EXECUTED IN 1938

PM111025 [Editorial Report] Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian on 7 February 1987 publishes on page 4, under the headline "Petr Smorodin -- A Glorious Name," a 1,300 word article by correspondent V. Gromov which is pegged to the 90th anniversary of the birth of Petr Ivanovich Smorodin, "Komsomol youth leader of the twenties." In 1920, Smorodin became secretary of the Petrograd Komsomol City Committee. He held the post of first secretary of the Russian Komsomol Central Committee from 1921 through 1924. Failing health resulting from war wounds caused Smorodin to relinquish leadership of the Komsomol, but he continued in pioneering work as first secretary of a Leningrad communist party raykom. The article concludes: "In June 1938, Smorodin was recalled to Moscow. There he was arrested and soon executed."

OFFICIAL OUTLINES NEW TERMS FOR WAGE INCREASE

PM201701 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Feb 87 First Edition pp 3, 6

[Interview with L.A. Kostin, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, by V. Lyubitskiy: "The Ruble on the Scales of Labor. Restructuring of the Wages System Has Started in the Country" -- no place or date given; first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] It is widely known that a transfer to new work payment conditions began in industrial sectors this year -- the press has written extensively about it since the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the AUCCTU adopted a resolution on improving the organization of wages and the introduction of new wage rates and salary scales. Even so, the editorial office receives letter which in essence boil down to the question: "When will wages increase in our sector, at our enterprise?" This was the starting point of a conversation with L. Kostin, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems.

[Kostin] One of the fundemental specific features of the documents adopted, Leonid Alekseyevich noted, is that the introduction of new work payment conditions will not be automatically applied from a certain date for certain categories of workers. We are talking about fundamentally restructuring of the wages system itself, and now everyone's wages -- from the worker's to the director's -- will be directly dependent on the end results of the collective's labor and on everyone's personal contribution.

[Lyubitskiy] In other words, the funds for higher wages will have to be earned first?

[Kostin] Precisely. Our country has always pursued a course of enhancing Soviet people's prosperity. During the last two 5-year plan periods alone the average monthly wage, excluding social consumption funds, rose from R145.8 to R190.1. It is planned to increase to R218 by 1990. But while formerly this was funded mainly from the budget, now any wage or salary increases will be funded by the enterprises themselves.

What brought about the restructuring? First, the need to step up the incentive role of wages in boosting production efficiency and work quality in all sectors. The CPSU Central Committee January plenum noted that labor incentives were oriented toward extensive development. Large sums were paid out in the form of unjustified bonuses and all sorts of additional incentives having very little to do with production efficiency and output quality.

Another task is to ensure fuller compliance with the principle of social justice and put an end to the "leveling" which worked against the most skilled and most conscientious workers and made life easier for those who like taking it easy at work.

Finally, it is important to eliminate a whole range of shortcomings which have accumultated in the organization of wages since the last change in wage rates and salary scales in 1972-75. Numerous wage supplements have evolved, output norms have dropped, and the proportion of actual wages has fallen to just about 50 percent. Payment for highly skilled work has suffered without any reason. In machine building, for example, the wage rate difference between the second grade and the highest -- sixth -- grade is only R46. Of course, this is no incentive for a worker's professional growth, even though the actual nature of production and the tasks of scientific and technical progress demand skilled masters of the work.

The gap between payments levels for workers and specialists has narrowed rather too much in the last few years. Last year the difference was only 10 percent, whereas back in 1965 it was 46 percent. And engineers in the construction industry and in machine building were receiving on average even less than the workers, because production workers' earnings were rising while specialists' salaries were hardly changing and the bonus system often failed to produce supplementary payments because of adverse economic trends.

From now on earnings will be directly linked to the quantity and quality of labor. Another specific feature of the current innovations is the fact that changes will, for the first time and comprehensively, affect all wage elements: Workers' wage rates, specialists' salary scales, the systems for bonuses and for supplementary or additional payments, and labor norms. In addition, the changes will affect all workers -- from auxiliary personnel to enterprise and organization leaders. The measures will affect 75 million persons in production sectors alone. Furthermore, and again for the first time, they will be organically combined with improvement of the economic machinery, introduction of financial autonomy, expansion of enterprises' independence, and transition to normative planning methods. And the state gives the labor collectives guarantees that the funds earned by them for work payments will not be liable to appropriation -- which means that they can be spent in full for their purpose.

[Lyubitskiy] Now that 6 weeks have passes since the start of the new year, is it already possible to talk about the initial steps of reform and the difficulties it has encountered?

[Kostin] Well, we did not have to start from scratch. Suffice it to refer to the experience in introducing new payment terms for scientific personnel, the example of the Volga Motor Vehicles Plant or the No 18 Mosoblselstroy Trust collectives, and the experiments in Leningrad and Novosibirsk. I would like to mention in particular the example of the Belorussian railroad workers: The 10 railroads which applied their method in work last year managed to increase labor productivity by 12.4 percent, which is more than in the entire previous 5-year plan period, released 125,000 persons, and accumulated almost R119 million to fund wage and salary increases.

During the period of implementing measures for transition to new conditions, the Grodno Motor Vehicles Transport Administration increased labor productivity by 22.2 percent and wages by 17.4 percent.

When introducing new salaries and supplementary payments, numerous scientific collectives reviewed the subject matter of their work and set the task of attaining the highest world standards. There was certification of cadres, which is just one source for saving resources. For example, the Tomsk Institute of Atmospheric Optics and Tashkent's "Kibernetika" Science and Production Association effected savings which made it possible to increase the wages of the best workers by R50-R100 and to institute additional payments for completing development projects ahead of world standards.

But there have already been occasions when manifestations of formalism and inertia were encountered in this work. Personnel cutbacks at Kharkov's "Gidroprivod" Institute secured only a 1.5-percent saving in the wages fund, while wages growth amounted to... R3 per worker per month. What is this if not a distortion of the very meaning of innovation?

Advance in many sectors is held back by the fact that ministries -- and in particular the Ministry of the Production of Mineral Fertilizers, the Ministry of the Gas Industry, the Ministry of Light Industry, and the State Agro-industrial Committee -- delayed the distribution of the necessary normative materials to the labor collectives. Some enterprises decided to limit themselves to simply changing the wages structure without any fundamental changes in the organization of wages or the utilization of production reserves.

The new premium system should already have come into operation in January. Moreover, there will be no centralized regulation of premium payments -- the enterprises themselves must determine the procedure, amount, conditions, and time for such payments. But some of them waited for recommendations until the last moment, while others, without a second thought, simply rewrote the old premium payment provisions.... And yet, the sights must now be set in a different direction -- toward performance of contract commitments and enhancement of output quality and production efficiency....

[Lyubitskiy] Perhaps the main question that perturbs everyone is: Where are the funds for the restructuring of wages coming from?

[Kostin] Primarily from the introduction of new equipment and advanced technology, the expansion of service zones and job combination, and personnel cutbacks based on this. And consequently on increased output volume and improved output quality. Furthermore, as transition to new wage rates takes place, earnings norms must be brought in line with actual labor expenditure of and ineffective supplementary and additional payments must be ended. Nothing will happen unless order is imposed in norm-setting -- this is the most important criterion for an enterprise's readiness to switch to new working conditions and payment terms.

True enough, there is another complex question: The question of wage normatives. They are set on the basis of the so-called base-growth method, in other words on the basis of output volume growth. And some ministries, without bothering with any analysis, have set uniform normatives for all enterprises. In this way, front-ranking collectives are deprived of any opportunity to increase their wages. Such a situation cannot be tolerated: It runs contrary to the very essence of restructuring.

[Lyubitskiy] But how will it be implemented in practice? Can a worker, engineer, or plant director "estimate" today what it will bring to him personally?

[Kostin] Of course. As funds are accumulated, the transition to new wage rates and salary scales could be implemented either for the entire enterprise at once, or by shops, professions, or worker categories -- this will be decided by the collective itself in coordination with the ministry.

As for amounts, workers' wage rates will increase by 20-25 percent. In addition, the wage rate difference between the first grade and the last, the sixth grade, will increase from 58 to 80 percent. An 8-grade scale, with the maximum rate double the minimum [s dvoynym diapazonom], has been instituted in machine building for the most highly skilled workers -- troubleshooters, repairmen, and tool makers. These same sectors will also have three categories taking the complexity of work into account, and thanks to this the difference in workers' wage rates even within the same grade could be as large as 21 percent.

Starting with grade three, supplementary payments of 12-24 percent will be introducted for high work quality. [paragraph continues]

If quality declines, the worker loses the supplement. In other words, from now on the ruble is governed not only by skills but also by the daily attitude to work.

Supplementary payments of up to 12 percent of the wage rate will be introduced for the first time in machine building and light industry in respect of the intensity of work on assembly conveyor belts and on flowlines and automatic lines.

Significant changes will be introduced in the payment of specialists' work. Their salary scales will increase by 30-35 percent, in other words by more than the wage rates for workers, while the salary scales for designers and technologists, on whom scientific and technical progress depends in particular, will increase by 40-45 percent. The present two categories will be replaced by four -- engineer, second and first category engineer, and leading engineer -- with a broad salary "bracket" ranging between R130 and R230. From now on it will no longer be absolutely necessary to find an administrative position as a means for financially rewarding a capable and actively working specialist. Even the numerical restrictions on specialists in different grades and categories have been lifted. In other words, sections and shops will no longer have a permanent organization chart. The maximum salary for a machine building foreman will increase from R155 to R220, with a further 20-percent increase on being awarded a first-class grading. There will be sizeable increases in the payment of workers in economic, cadre, and other services, and the salaries of enterprise leaders, which have not changed in almost 30 years, will be increased. But the management apparatus will be the last to be affected by this measure.

The present multiplicity of supplementary payments will be replaced by just two, with a top limit of 50 percent of salary, for high achievements in labor and for performance of particularly important work. At the same time, there will be a reduction of enterprise categories, and they will be determined only on the basis of qualitative indicators regardless of the workforce's numerical strength.

[Lyubitskiy] To judge by everything you have said, serious obstacles have really been raised in the way of "leveling." And yet, reports from the first few weeks in the new year show that it is being overcome slowly and with difficulty. What are the reasons for this, in your opinion? How can this process be accelerated?

[Kostin] I will mention what I consider the two main reasons behind the revival of "leveling." The first involves shortcomings in the organization of labor, production, and material and technical supply and the underdevelopment of the social sphere. Some leaders attempt to "make up" for these shortcomings (and what I have in mind are rush work, disruptions in deliveries of raw and other materials, and lagging in the construction of housing and kindergartens) by cash payments. And even though, as a rule, such attempt no longer suit people and cannot halt the outflow of cadres, the mentality of economic managers still clings to such obviously obsolete methods.

The other reason for "leveling" results from shortcomings in the actual organization of wages and can be eliminated by restructuring them. Let me add that all provisions -- and there are several hundred of them already -- which limited or regulated wages, including payments for job combination, are being abolished at the same time. There is only one approach now: If someone provides a large labor contribution of the proper quality, there should be no ear about paying him for it.

But a loss of earnings in the event of deteriorating work must also be inevitable. I think that, in this context, the time has come to bring our labor legislation in line with the new conditions of economic management An important step in this direction will be taken by adopting the law on the state enterprise, whose draft has been submitted for nationwide discussion. It is, however, equally important to restructure the public mentality: It is, after all, no secret that even the labor input rate is not applied in places simply because people are unwilling to spoil relations with one another.

[Lyubitskiy] Incidentally, could you talk in greater detail about the opportunity available to labor collectives themselves to influence wage levels and stimulate people's labor output?

[Kostin] There is no doubt that the broadest opportunities are with enterprises working on the principles of self-capitalization. But other collectives which have switched to new methods of economic management also have substantially broader opportunities. Take premium payments, for example. They are being calculated on a collective instead of an individual basis -- by team, section, or shop. The total amount of the premium payment -- 40 percent of the wage rate -- is charged to the wages fund, but there are no limits restricting the incentives for individual workers within the collective: Working comrades are themselves in a position to determine everyone's contribution. It is also important to ensure close ties between material incentives and the results of socialist competition.

Members of the collective can now divide among themselves the total wages of released workers. For the first time, enterprises are given the right to independently determined additional payments in respect of hard or harmful working conditions at each work place.

And how about the election of all enterprise leadership cadres, as envisaged by the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum decisions: Is that not a mighty incentive in the collective's hands? The enterprises themselves also resolve the question of where to begin increasing specialists' salaries -- by raising salary scales or by introducing supplementary payments. Of course, to start with any accumulated funds will be used to introduce new salary scales, even though they may involve minimal increases. But practical experience shows that, on the whole, the incentive role of supplementary payments is greater, and this must be borne in mind.

Generally speaking, many questions arise in connection with the restructuring of wages. This is why the republic committees for labor together with trade union councils have organized consultation centers where enterprise leaders and working people can obtain any necessary explanations.

[Lyubitskiy] And how would you answer readers who want to know about wage increases in the nonproduction sphere?

[Kostin] Let me remind you that 1987 will see the completion of the transfer to new conditions of work payment for teachers and other workers in national education. A gradual increase in the salaries of medical personnel averaging 35 percent is underway. Supplementary payments were made for the first time in January in respect of uninterrupted work by workers and employees in the southern regions of the Far East, the Transbaykal region, and the Tuva ASSR. It is planned to start raising the wages of workers in higher education and culture in the current 5-year plan period. Let me note that the system for supplementary payments in the nonproduction sphere also contains incentives for intensive and good-quality work.

The new conditions offer broad opportunities to labor collectives and to each working person to increase their earnings in line with improved production efficiency and a greater personal labor contribution.

AGANBEGYAN VIEWS ECONOMIC RESTRUCTURING

PM181430 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 Feb 87 p 13

["LITERATURNAYA GAZETA Dialogue" between Academician A.G. Aganbegyan, member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium and secretary of the Economics Department, and special correspondent Zoriy Balayan: "Along the Paths of Renewal"]

[Text] [Balayan] Abel Gezevich! The CPSU Central Committee January Plenum oriented the party and all the people toward deepening and expanding the restructuring that has begun. I would like to ask you, has the very essence of the restructuring become clearer today?

[Aganbegyan] I think it has. The plenum formulated the ultimate objective of the restructuring.

It is a question of the renewal of all aspects of our society's life and of revealing to the full the creative potential of the socialist system.

[Balayan] To be more specific about the future of our economy, can any particular fundamental features be singled out?

[Aganbegyan] The economy of the future is above all a system in which production is entirely subordinated to the satisfaction of social needs. There are no shortages. The market for means of production and objects of consumption is saturated. The consumer chooses whatever is advantageous to him.

Moreover it is an economy of the intensive type, receptive to the achievements of scientific and technical progress. Naturally, it is also a social economy, an economy for people. Finally, it is a democratic economy, an economy of self-management by the people.

[Balayan] Before going on to discuss ways of achieving this goal, permit me to remind you of one brief paragraph from our conversation of 1979: "It is quite obvious that our society cannot develop primarily by the extensive path. It is necessary to carry out a radical restructuring of the entire national economy in the direction of the intensification of social production and the enhancement of efficiency and quality and to carry out a large-scale socioeconomic maneuver in this direction." So even then people knew what needed to be done. But why did the delay go on? What is the reason for that?

[Aganbegyan] Of course, at that time it was by no means entirely clear what to do. But the main trouble was that ideas were poorly put into practice. We were not simply marking time; I would say that in many repsects we were going downhill. The rate of growth in national income fell over the last 15 years from 41 percent in the 8th 5-Year Plan to 17 percent in the 11th. The growth of all other economic and social indicators fell correspondingly. Life itself has shown that you cannot go on like that any longer. Talk is one thing, action is another. They say that people get sick of words that are used too often. But I assure you that we will have to have respect for the word "acceleration" for a long time to come.

The average annual growth in national income in the 11th 5-Year Plan was 3 percent. In the current 5-year plan we are to increase it to 4 percent. More than 5 percent -- that is what this indicator will be in the nineties.

[Balayan] It is hard for the reader to grasp percentages if he is unfamiliar with economic affairs...

[Aganbegyan] You could say that the absolute growth in national income in 1990 as compared with 1985 will be around R130 billion...

[Balayan] Abel Gezevich, of course the nineties are not very far away. But today's people are worried about today. It is a pleasing image, that of the wise old man who plants an apple tree, thinking more about his grandchildren than himself. But all the same...

[Aganbegyan]...But all the same, people want apples now, not tomorrow?...

[Balayan] Still less the day after tomorrow

[Aganbegyan] Well, as far as real apples are concerned, there is need to wait till the nineties. Or even the day after tomorrow. All you have to do is harvest the entire crop and deliver it to the stores without losses. As for metaphorical "apples," the fruit of the restructuring of the national economy in general, here it would be pure self-deception to count on rapid returns. Progress today is inconceivable without the transition from old to new generations of machinery, from existing to fundamentally new manufacturing systems. Only in this way can labor productivity and all the other indicators of efficiency improve, so to speak, not by percentages, but by multiplication. However, we cannot allow technical innovations which give rise to savings in one type of expenditure (for instance, by reducing the labor-intensiveness of output), while at the same time making up for this with additional expenditure of embodied labor -- a growth in labor-intensiveness. This will not be progress, but regression.

In order to go over to the production of machinery which is fully up to world standards, we must as a minimum renew two-thirds of our machine building output.

[Balayan] What are the norms for renewal and what kind of successes have there been in the 1st year of the restructuring?

[Aganbegyan] On the whole, not very reassuring. In 1985 the norm for renewal in machine building was 3.1 percent, while in 1986 it increased only to 4 percent. Although substantial groundwork has been done: In 1986 alone, capital investments in the technical modernization of machine building enterprises increased by 30 percent. That is approximately the same as the increase in capital investments in the sector in the whole of the 11th 5-Year Plan. Therefore we have a right to expect a leap forward in renewal in 1987 and the subsequent years. Of course, changes are also needed in investment policy.

[Balayan] Abel Gezevich! I would like to know more details about the nature and role of investment policy in the light of today's demands. The term has already entered our language and is often encountered in the press. But I am afraid that not all our readers understand it well enough.

[Aganbegyan] I will try to be brief and keep to the main point. To continue the analogy with your wise old man who plants a tree, thinking about the future, he is basically pursuing an investment policy. Investment is not simply investing capital, but investing resources on a long-term basis in some enterprise or cause. In this context three main features of the new approach can be singled out.

First, the transition should be made from channeling capital investments primarily into new construction and the expansion of capacities to the technical modernization and retooling of existing enterprises. Second, whether we like it or not, we will have to change decisively the correlation between capital investments in the resource-extracting, processing, and consuming sectors, ensuring without fail that resource-saving technologies are developed as a priority. And the third feature of the new approach is that capital investments must ensure not an increase in the quantitative volumes of production, but the improvement of output quality. In a word, the entire structure of capital investments will have to be changed, reorienting them from the avenues of extensive development and from ensuring the growth of resources as a priority into intensive avenues and into increasing the efficiency of utilization of all types of resources.

[Balayan] Hence the term "structural policy"?

[Aganbegyan] Yes. After all, the structure of the national economy in our country developed in the conditions of a primarily extensive type of extended reproduction. It therefore has an excessively high proportion of raw material sectors, traditional materials, and obsolete machinery, and the repair area is hypertrophied.

[Balayan] And how should the structure look at the new stage?

[Aganbegyan] The depth of processing of basic raw material will increase. Science-intensive spheres will undergo preferential development: machine building, the information equipment industry, chemicals, bioengineering; priority must be given to new materials.

[Balayan] But until we achieve all this, surely we cannot make do in the old way with the old machinery and old equipment? Wasting huge sums on repairs and spending resources and time on trying to get hold of spare parts which are in chronic short supply?

[Aganbegyan] We must look truth in the face. The established stereotype of economic management has become virtually a psychological factor. The repair area has become so terribly overblown in our country because of the obsolescence of the existing stocks. Every year tens of billions of rubles are spent on repair work. Just imagine, for may types of machinery expenditure on repairs has been significantly greater than expenditure on the production on new output.

[Balayan] Where was the capital investment going, if such an acute need for repairs had arisen!

[Aganbegyan] A very good question. The point is precisely that the main bulk of capital investments were channeled into new construction and the expansion of capacities, while existing capacities grew old and required more and more repairs. New jobs were being created all the time, and people were moved there from existing production facilities, thereby denuding entire sectors. Thereafter everything proceeded as a chain reaction. Jobs went unfilled, and the shift index fell correspondingly.

[Balayan] Are there figures on the detriment to the country as a whole because of this kind of unintelligent distribution of capital investment?

[Aganbegyan] The cost of unfilled jobs in the country's national economy for precisely this reason is in excess of R200 billion.

[Balayan] Forgive me, Abel Gezevich! But could you compare this with the total value of the country's fixed production capital?

[Aganbegyan] It is not difficult to calculate. In the national economy, it totals some R1.6 trillion. That means that 200 billion is more than 12 percent of the total value of these assets.

[Balayan] Such losses! And for nothing, so to speak...

[Aganbegyan] You see, the whole point is that many existing enterprises have been mothballed, so to speak. They have undergone virtually no retooling. And this means that the number of people employed in manual labor has not fallen. Not only has it not fallen, but even, despite vast capital investments in production, the volume of manual labor has increased. Some 50 million people are engaged in manual labor. Approximately one in three in industry, one in two in construction, and three in four in agriculture. You can see that things cannot go on like this. It would be a crime to manage affairs in this way. And we now need to change gear in the process of tackling these tasks.

[Balayan] Nonetheless, there is an impression that even now we are slow to get moving. If you take a look, it seems that everything, or many things, are still proceeding in the old way, the old-fashioned way. You hear much talks, but there is little action. Heaps of resolutions, decisions, laws... Don't you agree?

[Aganbegyan] Only partly. You can't do everything all at once. Especially in such a complex system, with such a force of inertia, as the economy. It is less than a year since the 27th CPSU Congress and only 6 months since the adoption of the 5-year plan which contains concrete targets for the development of the national economy. And you will agree that many major tasks have alread begun as regards the restructuring of the management system, the new investment policy, and the accelerated development of the social sphere. Begun is the operative word. As was stressed at the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum, we are at the initial stage of the restructuring.

So the revolution in economic development has only just begun, it is not over yet. The main events are still to come.

Speaking of the slow pace of restructuring, apart from taking into account the objective difficulties in the first stage, it is also necessary to take account of the uncompleted psychological reorientation of some cadres and the resistence (passive and active) to the new course by certain groups of workers -- by some of the management apparatus, whose rights and privileges are being taken away with a view to expanding the autonomy of the grass-roots economic components. There is also resistance from weak economic managers who are afraid of autonomy and are accustomed to living by orders from above, and by laggard working people who are used to receiving pay they have not earned and are opposed to the transition to consistent distribution according to labor. Not to mention people who receive unearned income.

[Balayan] At this stage I would liken the restructuring to the regeneration of vineyards. The old vines have been uprooted. New cuttings have been planted, but there will be a long time to wait until the grape harvest. Three years, or even five.

[Aganbegyan] A good image. The whole trouble is that today we are having to renew virtually all our "vines" at the same time... So let us use concrete examples. Precisely what resolutions are being adopted? That is important. In August 1985, for instance, the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers adopted a resolution on measures to radically improve the technical standard and quality of machine building output. After all, it is hard to talk about effective restructuring and practical acceleration unless you change your attitude to machine building. And not even machine building, but the machine building complex. Look how things have turned out: In the 11th 5-Year Plan, for instance, out of all capital investments in production, 20 times less resources were channeled into the production of machines and equipment than into the sectors for which machine building products are manufactured. There was 23 times less investment in the production of machines and equipment for light industry, 28 times less in heavy and transport machine building, and 47 times less in chemical and petroleum machine building than in the corresponding sectors.

[Balayan] And now how will it be?

[Aganbegyan] Now it is planned to develop machine building as a priority, as the basis of scientific and technical progress. And the rate of growth of capital investments in machine building will be four or five times the rate of increase in other sectors of the national economy. In a word, at a turning point it is essential to review, revise, and indeed literally turn around everything that has been dragging us down.

[Balayan] I understand, Abel Gezevich, that it should be a question of high quality work and output, in the broadest sense -- the rational utilization of all types of reserves, the cutting of construction times, and the acceleration of capital turnover and freight transportation. But how can all this be achieved in the conditions of a shortage economy? I would like you to go into this problem in more detail.

[Aganbegyan] We must put an end to shortages -- that is the fundamental task. The point is that when there are shortages, the producer can exercise diktat. Much unnecessary, poor quality output is produced which does not meet public needs at all. Have you wondered, for instance, why we should produce 4.5 times more tractors than the Unites States, for a smaller volume of agricultural output? Why we want to build another giant tractor plant today in Yelabuga, right next to the Kama Truck Plant? Or why we need to produce so many trucks when only two-thirds of them are working? And even those only work one shift. Half the trucks travel the country's roads empty. And if they are carrying freight, it is only up to 75 percent of their capacity. While producing nearly twice as much steel as the United States and much more than the whole of capitalist Europe, we are forced to buy much metal on the world market. Such are the distortions of a shortage economy: much surplus, not enough essentials.

[Balayan] We have recently been talking a lot not only about the quality of articles, but also about the new quality of growth, whose main characteristic is its social thrust. It is no secret that only recently facilities for cultural enlightenment and sports and health institutions that had already been started on were halted on direct instructions from above. The gren light was given only to projects which produced an immediate profit. A snack bar, yes; a wine factory, yes. But you will have to wait for a stadium, and even more for a swimming pool. People's well-being was reduced merely to paying wages on time. [paragraph continues]

And the quality of people's health was measured by the number of doctors and hospital beds. Yet is is well known that in order effectively to improve the so-called aggregate health of the population, these are not the decisive factors. Everything we do in our socialist society, we do ultimately for the sake of man. And happiness is impossible without health, which Anton Pavlovich Chekhov compared to freedom. However, the health of individuals and of society as a whole depends not so much on the number of people dressed in white coats or the number of medical supplies as on well appointed housing, a better system for settling the population in new homes, improved ecological conditions and working conditions. Then there is sport, tourism, the service sphere to add to this. And we should also add the eradication of shortcomings like waiting lines and interruptions in the smooth running of work at production enterprises, which in turn lead to an increase in "peaks" of physical, nervous, and psychological strain. The problem is clearly far-reaching and all-embracing.

[Aganbegyan] Why have major errors been allowed to occur in the resolution of social and economic questions in the recent past? This is my answer: Largely because "interest" was ignored. Marx and Engels warned that an "idea" is invariably discredited as soon as it is separated from "interest."

The economic machinery is now being restructured in precisely this direction: the stake is on self-financing and full financial autonomy. In other words, people's interests are coming to the fore. And wage growth and social benefits, including the provision of housing, will depend directly on the end results of the activity of enterprise collectives. On this basis it will be possible to count on the accelerated growth of labor productivity and overall production efficiency. And that means an increase in the rate of growth of national income used for accumulation and consumption. That is the prerequisite for resolving social tasks. Take, for example, one of the most pressing social questions -- the problem of improving nutrition. Both the rate of development of agriculture and the volume of output have been unsatisfactory in the last three 3-year plans. In 1986 the volume of agricultural production increased by 5.1 percent (for comparison: in the 11th 5-Year Plan the average annual rate was 1.2 percent). A further increase in the rate can be expected, provided, of course, that the "interest" motor is running at full power. You also touched on the question of housing. Calculations show that in order to provide every Soviet family with an individual apartment or house, it is necessary to build at least 2 billion square meters of housing.

[Balayan] How many apartments is that?

[Aganbegyan] Around 40 million. And it is planned to complete this impressive task by the year 2000. I wish to note particularly that the 1986 housing plan was exceeded, and in 1987 it is planned substantially to exceed the 5-year plan targets (which, incidentally, are very intensive). Add to this the development of the service sphere, trade, and public catering and the increase in sales of modern consumer equipment. Labor expenditure on housework will be reduced considerably and working people's free time will increase.

[Balayan] Of course, we will be able to speak of a convincing achievement for our system when we hae provided every family with an individual, well appointed apartment. But the volume of housing construction will have to be increased considerably. And that usually is associated with industrial construction. And it is this link which, if you like, frightens me.

[Aganbegyan] Why?

[Balayan] Even today Yerevan, for instance, is literally suffocating. There is no air to breathe. Many plants and factories which were originally built on the outskirts of the city now find themselves in the center. And these are plants which emit harmful waste. You would have thought that something had to be done to take these enterprises outside the city limits. But Yerevan carried on stubbornly and steadfastly fulfilling the plan for commissioning housing. Back in the mid-fifties it became clear that in ecological terms the republican capital would not withstand criticism. And it was no accident that in the summer of 1956 the USSR Council of Ministers banned the construction of new industrial enterprises or the expansion of existing ones in Yerevan City. You see, the whole trouble is that sometimes we violate government resolutions unceremoniously and with impunity. It was well known that the limit of permissible concentration in the city's atmosphere has reached dangerous indicators, that water is in short supply, that the extent of transportation arteries is extremely restricted due to the fact that the city is located on hills and in ravines, and nonetheless immediately after the publication of the reolution, which, of course, the local newspapers described as "historic," another 42 enterprises were sited and built urgently. You can imagine: They even built in Yerevan a feed concentrates plant whose output is shipped by truck through the entire city, to be delivered to the consumer hundreds of kilometers away. Can it be claimed that Yerevan is a special case, an isolated example? Many cities are already suffocating, literally and metaphorically. Life in the largest of them is becoming more and more difficult for people. At the same time new apartments are needed. How can this contradiction be resolved?

[Aganbegyan] But does increasing the volume of housing construction necessarily mean building only in the cities, and especially the capitals? In each 5-year plan in the nineties we will build some 700 million square meters of housing. These are enormous figures, on what I would call a planetary, rather than a national, scale. And of course, an excessive population concentration in the big cities is impermissible. It is no accident that party documents do not only talk about individual apartments, but about individual houses too. That is very important. It does not make sense to concentrate industry in one place, as in Yerevan. The optimum siting of industry is one problem in the overall efficiency of the national economy.

[Balayan] An All-union Conference of Directors was held in Abovyan recently, to examine the question of extending the rights of economic leaders.

The CPSU Central Committee plenum has now approved, as a basis, the draft USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association), which has been submitted for nationwide discussion. Why has the need arisen to establish such a law?

[Aganbegyan] We talk a great deal about the rights that must be given to enterprises. More autonomy! More initiative, activeness!

[Balayan] Boldness...

[Aganbegyan] Yes, boldness too. We have called for autonomy, activeness, and boldness before. We have called for them, without doing anything against the mighty resistance of some kind of bureaucratic force. How can you talk about boldness in tackling important issues when at the same time there are 200,000 instructions, provisions, principles, and so forth in force?! And it is not clear which of them are obsolete and which are still in force.

Those who issue the instructions are confused, the economic managers are confused. We are talking about a sea of paper. Any swimmer would drown in it. [paragraph continues]

And what scope there is here for the numerous checking and monitoring organizations which are displaying extraordinary activeness today, in the guise of restructuring! And, of course, where provisions and instructions are unclear and ill-defined you can always find foul play. That is why many economic managers are afraid of autonomy and do not even want it. They are biding their time. They see that activeness and initiative end badly for some people. The redistribution of rights is another side of the question. Here too you cannot escape resistance. The apparatus of ministries and departments does not want to give up its rights, since it will turn out that many links in the general management chain will prove simply superfluous.

[Balayan] What will the law do for enterprises?

[Aganbegyan] It will be a supreme legal act standing above the instructions, provisions, and resolutions. The law will secure broad rights and autonomy to the enterprises. When it comes into force economic managers will receive guarantees of these rights, naturally along with enhanced responsibility.

The law will operate independently of instructions form ministries or any departmental provisions.

[Balayan] Everything looks different at the moment. For instance, a worker from the Department for Combating Embezzlements of Socialist Property and Speculation presents the prosecutor with material showing, for instance, that an enterprise director has sold above-plan output at his own discretion. Thereby violating some instruction or other. The result could be dire for the economic manager. But on the other hand...

Now we are preparing to extend enterprises' rights and legalize them. But is there not a danger that some economic managers will exploit the new rights for antistate purposes? I am not talking about simple misappropriation. Only they will start to pursue selfish interests. For instance, accumulating above-norm stocks, which basically rot and rust in the plant storerooms. Yet among them are articles acquired for hard currency, that is to say, gold. So the result is that gold rusts, too.

[Aganbegyan] This is a serious situation, it must be said. Total stocks of material assets in the USSR's national economy have already reached an astronomical figure. Practically half a trillion rubles. And it must be said that the total stocks have increased twice as rapidly as production. But this is due not so much to "selfish economic managers: as to the defects of the existing economic machinery and the fear of disruptions to deliveries. The transition to free wholesale trade would help to get rid of this fear. But you cannot have that kind of trade without serious preparations. First, it is necessary to ensure a correlation between the supply of materials and objects and the money supply. And that means radical measures to restructuring the financial and credit machinery and the pricing system. That is probably the most difficult thing in carrying out a radical management reform.

[Balayan] Listening to you, Abel Gezevich, I catch myself thinking that probably even the most complex economic tasks of the restructuring can be reduced to something simple that anyone can understand. Perhasp to the formula: "Advantageous to each -- advantageous to all?" It seems to me that the economy must be built on this "foundation." Is that not so?

[Aganbegyan] Indeed, the interests of the worker, the collective, and the state should coincide in the main. But how can that coincidence be achieved? It is no easy task, but we must resolve it in the process of restructuring.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE REVIEWS COTTON HARVESTING

LD231446 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 23 Feb 87

[Text] The Central Committee of the CPSU has reviewed the work of the party, local Soviet, and economic bodies of the Tajik SSR in bringing in the 1986 cotton harvest. In contrast to previous years, in which students spent 2 to 3 months helping with the cotton harvest in term time, last year the harvest was brought in without the use of students, technical college and vocational technical school pupils, and without interrupting the studies of schoolchildren. A decision was made noting that the republic's party, local soviet and economic bodies, collective and state farms carried out a considerable amount of work in growing and harvesting the cotton. Extensive use was made of the organization of labor based on collective contract With the purpose of strengthening complex, some 900 extra temporary party and party-komsomol groups were set up.

The central committee of the CPSU recommended the Central Committee of the communist parties of Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Kirghiziya, and Azerbaijan to extend widely the experience of the cotton-growers of Tajik SSR in organzing the harvest without calling on students and technical college pupils and without interrupting the studies of schoolchildren, beginning this year. The decision notes that this task should be seen as an important socioeconomic measures.

MOSCOW TV COMMENTS ON GRAIN HARVEST 'SENSATION'

LD122210 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 12 Feb 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast; commentary by political observer Anatoliy Ivashchenko: "The Agro-Industrial Complex -- the Reality and the Prospects"]

[Text] Hello, comrades, I have already talked about the sensation that was created in the Western mass media when it was reported that the grain harvest in the Soviet Union in the first year of the 5-year plan period would amount to 210 million metrics. People were writing and saying: the Russians are deceiving the world. They call it report padding: It could not be more than 190 million metrics. But when the Central Statistical Administration recently provided the definitive figure: 210 million metrics. No one is talking about report padding any more. They are now aware of something else -- something that we have long been expecting.

The U.S. trade deficit has also extended to trade with the communist countries. This has happened largely because the USSR has sharply reduced its grain purchases in the United States. A report by the U.S. International Trade Commission notes that the fall in the USSR's grain requirements as well as the stiff competition between goods and grain on the world market are the reason for the reduction in grain supplies from the United States. Among other factors, people are naming the initial results obtained in the Soviet Union from the measures being carried out in the country to modernize agriculture, cut down the losses in agricultural produce, and enhance the personal involvement of those engaged in farming.

U.S. Secretary of Agriculture Lyng has said that Moscow is thereby inflicting great economic damage on the United States. Lyng added that the United States will henceforth not sell grain to the USSR on preferential terms, since these concessions have still not promoted any expansion of the volume of purchases.

For ages it has been shouted from the rooftops that old Russia fed the whole world with grain, while the Soviets buy it. Now, across the ocean, they are counting their losses.

The starting figure of 210 million metric tons testifies to a great deal: It is 30 million tons more grain than the average annual harvest during the 11th 5-Year Period. The task of taking yet another broad step forward has been set for 1987, when the planned harvest is 232 million metric tons, that is, an additional 22 million metric tons. Naturally this is a difficult task. Many regions had a very arid summer and fall last year and we did not succeed in fully sowing the winter crop area; in some places the shoots failed to gain strength before the cold weather began and considerable areas of crops have suffered due to recent frosts. In order to complete spring fieldwork on schedule, the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee must not only prepare seeds for resowing the afflicted winter crop areas with spring crops and not only prepare equipment and fertilizers, but also -- and most importantly -- cultivate grain crops by industrial and intensive technologies over considerable crop areas. It was precisely the application of intensive technologies last year which made it possible for our country to harvest an extra 24 million metric tons of grain. We shall have occasion to talk again of spring fieldwork strategy and tactics, in particular -- and in detail -- in one of the "Agro-Industry Today and Tomorrow" programs.

PRAVDA DISCUSSES IMPROVING FARM MANAGEMENT

PM191015 [Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 February 1987 First Edition carries on page 3 under the headline "Democratization of the Economy" a full-page feature on a routine "PRAVDA Business Club" session conducted by D. Valovoy and V. Pankratov. The feature does not state when or where the session was held. The session reportedly discussed the successes of the "Kazminskiy" Kolkhoz in Stavropol Kray's Kochubeyevskiy Rayon in "achieving high and stable indicators." The report cites comments by kolkhoz leaders and workers and Kochubeyevskiy Rayon officials. The feature incorporates the following unattributed commentary entitled "Conclusions and Suggestions":

"'Old approaches cannot resolve new tasks!' -- this thesis of the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum was not just supported and approved by the participants in the 'Business Club' session but confirmed by specific examples and results. Today readers are conducting a big discussion of it in the editors' mail. The new tasks demand the elaboration and introduction of new approaches. This is the essence of restructuring and the associated processes of the profound democratization of society.

"The participants in the 'Business Club' session and readers have voiced many thoughts and suggestions on the role of the plan under the new conditions. This document's 'braking system' has been weakened only in some areas. The desire for a low plan or for insignificant growth in it is still there. Many sensible suggestions are made on turning the plan into a powerful lever for increasing production and improving its quality.

"It is necessary to accelerate the democratization of management at enterprises processing agricultural products and other 'shops' of the agro-industrial complex.

"This will promote the psychological inclination toward intensive methods of running the economy and the removal of departmental barriers. Figuratively speaking, the new management structure of the agro-industrial complex, like that established on the 'Kazminskiy' Kolkhoz, which previously united five teams, each of which was a 'kolkhoz' within a kolkhoz, demands the 'plowing up' of departmental boundaries and the consolidation of 'crop rotations.' Taking specialization into account, all partners in the agro-industrial complex are to be directed toward the end results and given an interest in them.

"The session participants warmly approved the party policy of decisively rejecting wage leveling. They cited many examples of how quickly matters improve when pay depends directly on the quantity and quality of output. Where earning are simple, understood by every working person, and directly linked to the results of labor, you do not have to wait long for success. It is hard to deny now that pay in the countryside based on gross income (gross output minus material expenditure) is a powerful lever of the cost-cutting management mechanism. Here pay depends directly not only on the quantity and quality of output produced but also on the extent of economies in material resources. At the same time, it is easy to ruin a very good system. In his connection many readers are alarmed at the following fact. Different pay normatives are set for workers, links, teams, and farms working under identical conditions: The better you work, the lower the pay normative per R100 of output produced. And then big pay is received for worse results. In short, a new form is being filled with old content This encourages stagnation and acts as a brake on th realization of social justice.

"Sh. Mukhlisulin, chief of the Economy and Production Organization Department of the Kazakh Karakul Raising Scientific Research Institute, showed the distortion of pay based on gross income by citing the example of a comparison of five contract shepherd teams on Chimkent Oblast's Zadarinskiy State Pedigree Sovkhoz. The gross income in A. Zhumabekov's team totaled R29,000 and in M. Utegenov's team R11,000. In the first team the coefficient [ball] was 23.1 and in the second team 55.6. As a result, the annual pay per person in M. Utegenov's team totaled R2,057 plus R1,230 based on the end result. The corresponding figures in A. Zhumabekov's team were R2,026 and R1,214.

"Readers' letters voice many thoughts on assistance for kolkhozes and sovkhozes with low profitability. Today they receive markups of 25 to 100 percent on the prices for the products they sell. There is no doubt that such assistance is needed. But in some places poor use is made of these markups to promote the economy, and they get 'eaten up.' The pay on such farms is frequently not below the level of foremost workers and sometimes even exceeds it. Therefore it is proposed to draw up for every such farm a specific plan to achieve financial viability and to discuss it in all the farm's subdivisions. Individual readers suggest announcing a competition-appeal for those farms' leaders who guarantee to make them financially viable within a definite period. Those who cope with this task must be recommended for government awards and the titles of winners of republic and union state prizes and other honorary titles. If a hero of socialist labor transfers to a weak farm and makes it financially viable, 'let him be twice a hero,' V. Gerasimov of Saratov Oblast believes. The party and the state have allocated tremendous funds to resolving the Food Program. And everything possible must be done for their efficient utilization."

AGRICULTURAL SUPPLY HQ STUDIES SPRING SOWING

LD201439 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 20 Feb 87

[Text] A session of the All-Union Operational Headquarters for the Material and Technical Supply of the Rural Areas is taking place today at the USSR State Committee for the Agro-Industrial Complex. Questions of preparations for spring sowing are being discussed.

The headquarters has noted that on kolkhozes and sovkhozes of the Russian Federation, in the Ukraine, Belorussia, Latvia and other union republics the repair of sowers, cultivators and plows has been completed.

At the same time in Turkmenistan and Tajikistan where the sowing season has already started, there are thousands of such machines awaiting repairs. Preparation is slow in irrigation equipment and in fertilizing assemblies. The repair of tractors is being delayed on many farms in the Russian Federation, the Ukraine and Moldavia.

The headquarters noted that on the overwhelming majority of kolkhozes and sovkhozes, repair of technology for the preparation of hay, silage and other feed has been organized and is proceeding. At the same time in Kazakhstan, the level of preparation of feed harvesting equipment is much lower than the average for the country. There is a delay in the repair of such machines also on farms in Moldavia, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, and a number of oblasts of the Russian Federation and the Ukraine.

In fall and winter the country's agricultural mechanics managed to prepare two-thirds of the grain combine harvesters. However, the repair of combine harvesters is proceeding slowly on farms in Ryazan, Orel, Sumy and Kirovograd Oblast, as well as in Uzbekistan.

Two causes for the shortfall in technical preparations were named at the operational Headquarters: these are the low level of organizational work, and a shortage of spare parts. Rural mechanics are being particularly let down by Noginsk fuel apparatus work, and the Kharkov, Pavlodar and Cheboksary tractor works. As before, a great debt is owed to workers of the agro-industrial complex by the Utomskiy works of Lyubertsky, and the Kurgan and Gomel agricultural machinery associations. Among those also lagging behind are the Kostroma engine parts works, the Yaroslavl engine works and certain other enterprises of the Ministry of the Automobile Industry.

More than a little finished output has accumulated at many engineering works now, because there are no freight cars. In Volgograd alone, for example, there are about 4,000 tractors awaiting dispatch.

MEDIA COVERS 12-18 FEB AGRICULTURAL WORK

LD190420 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, on 12-18 February. GMT times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

12 February

Azerbaijan agricultural workers have started sowing work. Farms have commenced the mass sowing of perennial grasses. (2050)

Mari farmers have finished preparation of seeds for spring sowing; more than 80 percent of them have been categorized as first class. (0300)

13 February

A report from Saratov says that 93 percent of the seeds in the oblast are first and second class. Only first class seeds will be used on acreage to be farmed intensively. (1200)

14-15 February

No fileworthy reports monitored.

16 February

Winter field work has been completed on the entire spring crop area in Tselinograd Oblast. In most of the fields snow retention work was carried out in two consecutive operations, allowing the recommended amount of winter moisture to be accumulated. Aerial photographs have confirmed the high quality of work, and the accumulation of moisture together with intensive technology will raise the yield of virgin land by 50 percent. (1200)

Last year, the agricultural workers of Kazakhstan received the first 4,000 DT-75ML modernized tractors from the Pavlodar Lenin Tractor Works. Now their production will grow by 10 times, and a new model -- the DT-75MLS -- has been developed. It has a 120 horsepower diesel engine and its productivity is 50 percent better. The first consignment of these tractors has already been sent to the Kokchetav, Novosibirsk, and North Kazakh machine-testing stations. (1430)

With the onset of warm weather in southern Kazakhstan, the agricultural workers of Chimkent Oblast have begun to selectively sow grasses. Farms on the Turkestan steppe and those in the Keles Valley have sown alfalfa. Grasses will occupy 115,000 hectares in the oblast. Such a quantity is required to reestablish the previously ruined crop rotation. Experience has shown that sowing alfalfa in the drylands before the heavy spring rain guarantees level sprouting. (1430)

17 February

The snow cover on the Don fields is up to half a meter. In the north, snow retention work is going on, while in the south, they are on the eve of sowing. The Rostov grain growers intend to increase the area sown to spring crops by more than 1 million hectares. More corn, spring wheat and millet is being grown to get the planned amount of grain and feed. (0900)

The cotton-cleaning industry-of Tajikistan has finished cleaning seeds for spring. The Republic's sovkhozes and kolkhozes will receive about 24,000 metric tons. Half that amount has already been delivered. (1200)

18 February

No fileworthy reports monitored.